

«Jeg lese denne»

– *Root infinitives in Norwegian child language and  
the functions of finiteness*

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.

*Ja eg har tenkt  
at det finst ein stad der barna  
er samla før dei blir fødde  
der barna er i sjelene sine  
Men dei snakkar likevel med kvarandre  
på sin eigen mate  
i sitt eige englespråk*

*I've been thinking  
that there's a place where the children  
are gathered before they are born  
where the children are in their souls  
But they are talking to each other anyway  
in their own way  
with their angel language*

From Jon Fosse – «Namnet» /«The Name»  
(English translation by Gregory Motton)



# Summary

Children acquiring many different languages have been reported to go through a stage where they use finite clauses and non-finite clauses – so-called Root Infinitives – interchangeably. In this thesis I investigate the Norwegian Root Infinitives, such as *Jeg lese denne* ‘I read.INF this one’, and the Norwegian Root Infinitive stage, using data from 16 files with spontaneous speech from 12 monolingual two-year-olds acquiring Norwegian. The analysis is framed within generative grammar and the minimalist program. I review four different accounts for Root Infinitive in child language (the small-clause hypothesis, the truncation hypothesis, the unique checking constraint hypothesis, and the modal drop hypothesis) in light of the data gathered, and propose a new approach, drawing on the minimalist context-linked grammar of Sigurðsson (2004 and subsequent). Specifically, I propose that Root Infinitives are non-finite clauses, and not finite clauses with something silent or missing. I also argue that there is positive evidence in the child’s input that root clauses do not need to be finite, in form of a special Prescriptive Infinitive that exists in the North Germanic, e.g. *gjømme seg inni der* ‘hide.INF self inside there’, which is particularly used in child-directed speech. In my analysis, I give an account for the structure of Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives, and show that their differences can be derived from their shared structure, making an overgeneralization account for Root Infinitives quite probable.

Root Infinitives have also been found in children with specific language impairment (SLI), and verb morphology has been proposed as a diagnostic tool for SLI. I discuss what impact the data and analysis provided in this thesis may have on the use of Root Infinitives as a diagnostic marker of SLI.





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# List of Abbreviations

ATOM	Agreement/Tense Omission Model
CDPI	Child-directed Prescriptive Infinitive
CP	Complementizer Phrase
ELEC	Empty Left Edge Condition
EOI	Extended Optional Infinitive
EUCC	Extended Unique Checking Constraint
EXPL	Expletive
F	Feminine
FI	Full Interpretation
FL	Faculty of Language
INF	Infinitive
LF	Logic Form
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
OI	Optional Infinitive(s)
PF	Phonetic Form
PLD	Primary Linguistic Data
PRES	Present (tense)
PRON	Pronoun/Pronominal
REFL	Reflexive Pronoun
RI	Root Infinitive(s)
SLI	Specific Language Impairment/Specifically Language Impaired
TD	Typically Developing
UCC	Unique Checking Constraint
UG	Universal Grammar
VEKI	Very Early Knowledge of Inflection
VEPS	Very Early Parameter Setting
VP	Verb Phrase
REL	Relative subjunction
EXCL	Exclusive (i.e., 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun, excluding the hearer)
INCL	Inclusive (i.e., 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun, including the hearer)
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
ACC	Accusative
NOM	Nominative







# 1 Introduction

In this thesis I will investigate finiteness in child Norwegian, with emphasis on a specific structure found in some early child languages, around the age of two, namely the so-called Root Infinitive (RI).<sup>1</sup>

Root Infinitives are infinitive verbs that occur as the sole verb in a root clause. These have been described in a range of languages, among others English (e.g., Radford, 1990, pp. 138–170), German (e.g., Clahsen, 1988), Dutch (e.g., Jordens, 1990a), French (e.g., Pierce, 1992), Faroese (Jonas, 1995), Swedish (e.g., Platzack, 1990b), and (Northern) Norwegian (Westergaard, 2009). (See Guasti, 2002, pp. 128–145 and the references there.) Examples from these languages are given in (1).

(1)	a.	Papa <b>have</b> it	English	Eve, (1;06)	(Guasti, 2002, p. 129)
	b.	Thorsten Caesar <b>haben</b> Thorsten C. (=doll) have.INF	German	Andreas (2;01)	(Poeppel & Wexler, 1993, p. 6)
	c.	eve buiten <b>kijken</b> just outside look.INF	Dutch	Tim (2;01.05– 2;03.05)	(Jordens, 1990a, p. 1416)
	d.	maman <b>manger</b> mummy eat.INF	French	Daniel (1;08.01)	(Rasetti, 2000, p. 253)
	e.	Osvald <b>mussa</b> hana O. kiss.INF her	Faroese	Far. O. (2;0)	(Jonas, 1995, p. 266)
	f.	Amma <b>åka</b> buss hjalmar go-by.INF bus	Swedish	Hjalmar (1;08)	(L. Christensen, 2003, p. 45)
	g.	Jeg <b>lese</b> denne I read.INF this-one	Norwegian	Anne 1 (2;04.02)	(Present study)

In a certain period of development, particularly around the age of 2;0, children produce both Root Infinitives and adult-like finite clauses. This has been referred to as the Root Infinitive stage or Optional Infinitive stage.

---

<sup>1</sup> This structure has been termed Optional Infinitives (OI) by Wexler and colleagues (Schütze & Wexler, 1996b; Wexler, 1994, 1998). This is connected to specific theories for this construction, which I will get back

Over the last 25 years or so, different approaches to Root Infinitives have been proposed. In this study I use spontaneous language data from twelve typically developing two-year-old children, acquiring Norwegian as their L1, to investigate Root Infinitives in child Norwegian, and to test how they are best analysed. I will propose a new analysis based on the Minimalist Context-Linked Grammar outlined in Sigurðsson (2004, and subsequent).

I will also discuss what impacts my findings may have on the understanding of Root Infinitives in Specific Language Impairment (SLI).

## **1.1 Outline of the thesis**

In the remainder of this chapter I give an overview of the characteristics of Root Infinitives as described in the literature (section 1.2), a brief overview of different approaches to Root Infinitives (section 1.3), the connection between Root Infinitives and specific language impairment (SLI) (section 1.3.4), the framework adopted for this thesis – generative grammar – and some of its most central notions (section 1.6), and, finally, a presentation of the research questions of the thesis (section 1.7).

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows. Section 2.1 gives an overview of the syntactic formalism used. Section 2.2 elaborates on the theoretical background regarding theories of language acquisition. Chapter 3 is a presentation of relevant aspects of Norwegian adult grammar. Chapter 4 gives an account and discussion of the methods used in collecting the data. Chapter 5 gives the result of the study. Chapter 6 gives a theoretical discussion based on the results, followed by a summary and proposals for further research in chapter 7.

## **1.2 Characteristics of Root Infinitives**

In this section, I will go through the characteristics of Root Infinitives as described in the literature. The main features of Root Infinitives from the literature are summed up in table 1.

- 
- a. There are cross-linguistic differences in the amount of Root Infinitives: specifically in null subject languages Root Infinitives seem to be vanishingly rare.
  - b. The relative placement of the verb and clausal adverbials in Root Infinitives is adult-like.
  - c. Root Infinitives seem to be incompatible with non-subject topicalization and/or *wh*-questions in many languages.
  - d. There seems to be a relation between Root Infinitives and non-target null subjects in child language.
  - e. Root Infinitives are predominantly used with a modal interpretation, except in English
- 

Table 1: Characteristics of the Root Infinitive

Root Infinitives have also been reported to be incompatible with clitics in French (Pierce, 1989, p. 45) and clitics/weak pronouns in Dutch (Haegeman, 1995, p. 234). And finally, auxiliary verbs are not found as Root Infinitives (Poeppel & Wexler, 1993; Wexler, 1994). However, these two points will not further be elaborated in this thesis.

### 1.2.1 Cross-linguistic differences

As evident from the examples in (1), a Root Infinitive stage exists in many languages, but the frequency of Root Infinitives seems to differ from language to language, being close to non-existent in some. Especially in null subject languages, such as Spanish and Italian, the rate of Root Infinitives seems to be particularly low. Table 2 gives an overview of the percentage of Root Infinitives in a number of languages. Possible differences in designs in the different studies, and different coding difficulties from the different languages, must be borne in mind when comparing the numbers.

	Spanish	Italian	Brazilian Portuguese	Swedish	French	German	Flemish	Dutch	English
percentage	1% <sup>a</sup>	5% <sup>b</sup>	5% <sup>c</sup>	21% <sup>d</sup>	26% <sup>e</sup>	34% <sup>f</sup>	52% <sup>h</sup>	64% <sup>i</sup>	64% <sup>j</sup>
age span	1;09– 2;06	1;09– 2;07	2;02	1;10– 2;05	2;01– 2;06	1;09– 2;08	1;11	2;01– 2;06	1;06– 2;03
percentage		0% <sup>b</sup>			19% <sup>c</sup>	22% <sup>g</sup>		23% <sup>i</sup>	68% <sup>j</sup>
age span		1;10– 2;06			2;01	2;01		2;07– 3;0	2;03– 3;0

Table 2: The rate of Root Infinitives in different languages

a: adapted from Torrens (1995, p. 466) (Castilian and Catalan); b: adapted from Guasti (1993/1994, p. 6); c: Kupisch and Rinke (2007, p. 103); d: Josefsson (2002, p. 283); e: Pierce (1989); f: adapted from Phillips (2010), citing Behrens (1993); g: adapted from Poeppel and Wexler (1993, p. 6); h: adapted from Phillips (2010), citing Krämer (1993); i: Wexler, Schaeffer, and Bol (2004, p. 172); j: adapted from Phillips (1996).

### 1.2.2 Verb placement and negation

Although children use finite verbs and Root Infinitives interchangeably in the Root Infinitive stage, the distribution is not random. In languages like French, German, Dutch, Faroese, Swedish, and Norwegian the verb generally tends to follow the negation or other sentential adverbs in Root Infinitive clauses, and to precede them in finite clauses (Deprez & Pierce, 1993; Jonas, 1995; Pierce, 1992; Plunkett & Strömquist, 1990; Santelmann, 1995; Waldmann, 2008; Weissenborn, 1990; Westergaard, 2009).

- (2) a. **pas manger** la poupé French (Wexler, 1994, pp. 309–310)  
not eat.INF the doll
- b. **est pas** mort  
Is not dead
- c. nicht aua machen German S (22;03) (Clahsen, 1988, p. 130)  
not ouch make.INF
- d. macht nicht aua S (22;03)  
make.PRES not ouch
- e. ik ook doen Dutch Tim (Jordens, 1990a, pp. 1415–  
I also do.INF (2:01–2;03) 1416),
- f. kan niet open Tim  
can not open (2:01–2;03)

- |    |  |           |                     |                                  |
|----|--|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| g. | Jag     inte     trycka<br>I        not     push.INF               | Swedish   | Doris (2;04)        | (Santelmann, 1995, p. 206)       |
| h. | dom <b>ligger inte</b> på trappan<br>They lie.INF not on the-stair |           | Markus<br>(2;03.28) | (Waldmann, 2008, p. 147)         |
| i. | <b>ikke</b> <b>være</b> sånn<br>not     be.INF   such              | Norwegian | Ole<br>(1;10.0)     | (Westergaard, 2009, pp. 113–114) |
| j. | æ gjør           ikke<br>I do.PRES       not                       |           | Ina (2;02.12)       |                                  |

Furthermore, children acquiring the Germanic SOV languages German and Dutch seem to systematically use «finite verb forms in first or second position [...] and non-finite verb forms in final position» (Jordens, 1990, p. 1416 ; see the examples (2c-f). See also Poeppel & Wexler, 1993). Both the different verb placement in the SOV languages and the relative placement of the verb and sentential adverbs, as discussed above and exemplified in (2), are target-like in these languages.

### 1.2.3 Root Infinitives and Null Subjects

In non-null subject languages – languages that have a general subject requirement – young children in the age of interest here often omit subjects.<sup>2</sup> Some examples are given in 3.

- (3) a. ikke sitte denne                      Benedikte (2;01.06)                      (present study)  
not sit.INF this
- b. være her                      William (2;5.22)  
be.INF here

Cross-linguistically, children acquiring these languages omit the subject in Root Infinitives proportionally more often than in finite clauses (Haegeman, 1995; Hamann & Plunkett, 1998; Rasetti, 2000). (So-called «Root Null Subjects», see Guasti, 2002, pp. 163–172 and the references there.) According to Phillips (1996, p. 593), this difference is either non-existent or less significant in English, than the other Germanic languages.

There are also similarities between Root Infinitives and Null Subjects in child language, as both are reported to appear rarely in *wh*-questions and topicalizations (Guasti, 2002, p. 159) (see the next section). Hamann and Plunkett (1998) also found a high correlation between null subjects in finite clauses and Root Infinitives (p. 60) in Danish child language, indicating that Null Subjects and Root Infinitives are related phenomena. The same is found for French child language by Rasetti (2000).

In English child language, the subjects of Root Infinitives are often reported to have accusative case. This will be discussed further in section 1.3.3 and 6.3.

---

<sup>2</sup> We find the same in adult Norwegian (topic-drop), although to a lesser extent than in child language, and predominantly with 1<sup>st</sup> person singular pronoun, and always clause initial.

- i. (jeg) har ikke tid nå  
(I) have not time now  
'(I) don't have time now'
- ii. ?(han) har ikke tid nå  
(he) have not time now  
'(he) doesn't have time now'
- iii. nå har \*(jeg) ikke tid  
now have (I) not time  
'now (I) haven't got time'



### 1.2.4 Topicalization and *wh*-questions

Both topicalizations and (non-subject) *wh*-questions have a constituent other than the subject that has been fronted to the left edge of the clause. Target-like examples from my own data are given in (4).

- |     |    |                            |         |           |      |           |                     |
|-----|----|----------------------------|---------|-----------|------|-----------|---------------------|
| (4) | a. | den                        | skal    | jeg       | ta   | Ingrid 2  | topicalization      |
|     |    | that.one                   | shall   | I         | take | (2;10.28) |                     |
|     |    | 'that one I'll take'       |         |           |      |           |                     |
|     | b. | hvem                       | er det  | da ?      |      | Magnus 2  | <i>wh</i> -question |
|     |    | who                        | is that | then      |      | (2;09.22) |                     |
|     |    | 'who's that, then?'        |         |           |      |           |                     |
|     | c. | hva                        | sier    | toget?    |      | Anne 1    | <i>wh</i> -question |
|     |    | what                       | says    | the-train |      | (2;04.02) |                     |
|     |    | 'what does the train say?' |         |           |      |           |                     |

In verb second (V2) languages (such as Scandinavian, German and Dutch), where the finite verb is obligatorily in second position, non-subject topicalizations seem to be incompatible with Root Infinitives (Guasti, 2002, p. 132; Poeppel & Wexler, 1993).

In Mainland Scandinavian, German, Dutch and French (at least), Root Infinitives seem to be incompatible with *wh*-questions, but not in English, where Root Infinitives are common in *wh*-questions (Bromberger & Wexler, 1995; Westergaard, forthcoming). This is seen in examples such as (5).

- |     |    |                      |            |                             |
|-----|----|----------------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| (5) | a. | what the dolly have? | Eve (1;11) | (Westergaard, forthcoming). |
|-----|----|----------------------|------------|-----------------------------|

In French and other Romance languages, fronting the *wh*-word is sometimes optional, and it is grammatical to leave it *in-situ* – so-called *wh-in-situ*. Children at a young stage (pre 2;06) are reported to produce disproportionately many *wh-in-situ* questions compared to adult data (e.g., Zuckerman & Hulk, 2001). Some examples of child *wh-in-situ* are given in (6).

- |     |    |                        |             |        |           |                   |
|-----|----|------------------------|-------------|--------|-----------|-------------------|
| (6) | a. | marche sur             | <b>quoi</b> | Cedric | Augustin  | (Hamann, 2000, p. |
|     |    | walks on               | what C.     |        | (2;06.16) | 179)              |
|     |    | 'on what does C. walk' |             |        |           |                   |
|     | b. | est                    | <b>où</b>   | maman  |           |                   |
|     |    | is                     | where       | mummy  |           |                   |
|     |    | 'where is mummy'       |             |        |           |                   |

Hamann (2000) noted in her data from child French that «RIs occur in neither question type [fronted *wh* or *wh* in situ]» (p. 180).

Although RIs are generally not found in *wh*-questions and topicalizations in Norwegian and Swedish, both Westergaard (2009, forthcoming) and Josefsson (2002) report some stray examples: «It is true that such findings are rare, even though they are not totally absent» (Josefsson, 2002, p. 301). Some examples are given in (7).

- |     |    |  |                      |                     |                             |
|-----|----|--|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| (7) | b. | det jeg gjøre<br>that I do.INF                 | Lucas 2<br>(2;04.02) | topicalization      | (present study)             |
|     | a. | kor æ legge den hen?<br>Where I lay.INF it LOC | Ina<br>(2;07.08)     | <i>wh</i> -question | (Westergaard, 2009, p. 218) |

### 1.2.5 Modal interpretation

Root Infinitives have been reported to get a root modal/intentional interpretation in many languages (e.g., Hoekstra & Hyams, 1998; Ingram & Thompson, 1996). This has been termed the ‘modal reference effect’ by Hoekstra and Hyams (1998). (See Hyams, 2012 for an overview.). This is nicely summed up in the following quote from L. Christensen (2003) on the «temporal types» of Root Infinitives:

*A main temporal type at the root infinitive stage is the intentional or deontic (immediate) future [... where] the child by his utterance is expressing what he wants to do himself or what he wants someone else to do in the immediate future. (L. Christensen, 2003, p. 42)*

The same has been noted for child Norwegian by Westergaard (2009), who proposes that this is due to a missing auxiliary: «[T]he context shows that these [Root Infinitives with negations] are constructions where there is an auxiliary missing, typically a modal» (p. 121) (cf. section 1.3.4). An example, with disambiguating context is given in (8).

- |     |    |  |                       |                 |
|-----|----|--|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (8) | a. | Magnus: pappa lese denne<br>daddy read.INF this  | Magnus 1<br>(2;03.10) | (present study) |
|     |    | Father skal pappa lese gruffalo?<br>‘do you want daddy to read (the book about) Gruffalo?’ |                       |                 |

The same fact has been argued to be evident from the fact that Root Infinitives are used more often with eventive predicates than stative predicates in ‘modal reference effect’

languages – the so-called «eventivity constraint» (e.g., Hoekstra & Hyams, 1998; Wijnen, 1998). In English, however, none of these effects are found in Root Infinitives (Hyams, 2012).

Eventive predicates are predicates that denote a process or transition, such as *play outside* in the Root Infinitive in (9a), whereas stative predicates are predicates that denote a state, such as *want apple* in the Root Infinitive in (9b).

- |     |    |  |       |                                  |
|-----|----|--|-------|----------------------------------|
| (9) | a. | Niekje buiten spelen<br>N. outside play.INF<br>Niek (=Speaker) wants to play outside | Dutch | (Hoekstra & Hyams, 1999, p. 243) |
|     | b. | Papa want apple  |       | (Hoekstra & Hyams, 1999, p. 243) |

The reason this can be related to modal interpretation is that root/deontic modality prototypically selects eventive predicates, whereas this is not the case for epistemic modality (see e.g., Eide, 2005). Compare (10a) and (10b). Furthermore, children are generally found to not acquire epistemic modality before around age three, i.e., after the alleged Root Infinitive stage, and much later than root/deontic modality (see e.g., Papafragou, 1998 and references there). Thus, the relative predominance of eventive predicates in Root Infinitive yields quantitative indications that Root Infinitives are, in some sense, root modal.

- |      |    |   |                       |
|------|----|---|-----------------------|
| (10) | a. | He must need help<br>= ‘it must be the case that he needs help’ | Epistemic modality    |
|      | b. | You must get help<br>= ‘you ought to/should get help’           | Root/deontic modality |

This subject will be elaborated in section 6.4.

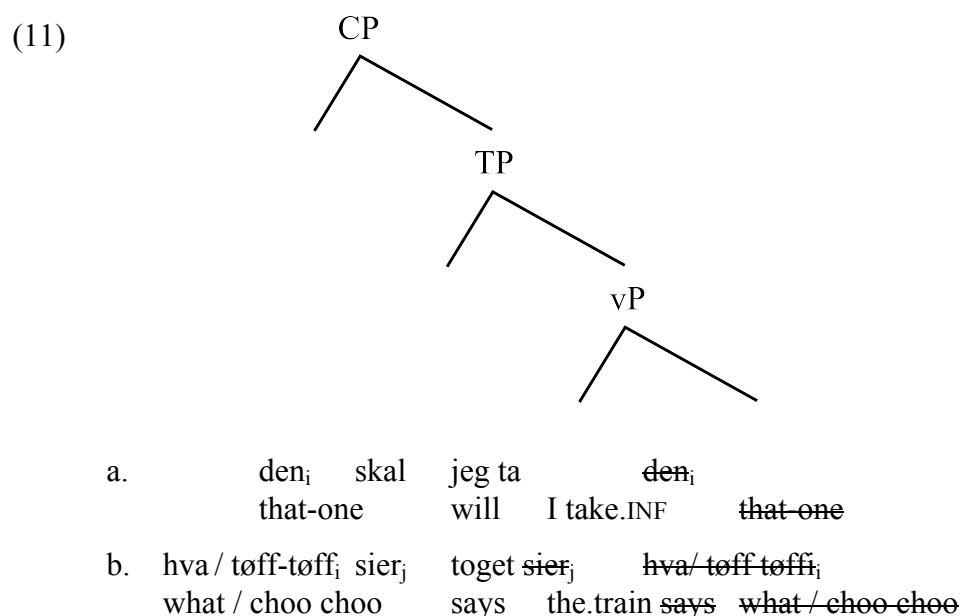
### 1.3 Different approaches to Root Infinitives

The Root Infinitives have been subject of extensive study and different theories have been proposed to account for them. In this section I present a short review of four of these

approaches: the small-clause hypothesis, the truncation hypothesis, the Unique Checking Constraint hypothesis (UCC), and the modal drop hypothesis.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.3.1 Small-clause hypothesis

In order to explain the Small-clause hypothesis, and some of the other hypotheses of Root Infinitives I will give below, I need to introduce the three-layered CP–TP–vP structure (see Platzack, 2010). This is standardly assumed to be the structure of all clauses in all languages, whether they have material present in all three layers or not. We will return to the actual workings of this structure in chapter 2.1, but for now the simplified representation in (11) will have to suffice.



The vP is responsible for argument structure (it describes the event and introduces its participants). The TP is responsible for verbal inflection, connecting the proposition expressed in the vP to a timeline, e.g., with an auxiliary in (11a), or present tense inflection in (11b), which in Norwegian involves verb movement. (It is common to assume that the inflected verb as well as the subject move further up in the structure in Norwegian, but this is irrelevant for the discussion here.) The CP represents the left periphery, where topicalized elements and *wh*-question-words are inserted or moved (The syntactic derivation will be elaborated in section 2.1.).

<sup>3</sup> Hypotheses that propose that Root Infinitives is due to incomplete acquisition of morpho-phonology, such as the Surface Account of Leonard (1989), fail to explain any of the characteristics outlined in the previous sections, and will therefore not be considered in this thesis.

The hypotheses I call *small-clause hypotheses* here, state that in early child language, there is no structure above the vP (Platzack, 1990; Radford, 1990, *inter alia*), making child utterances comparable to *small-clauses* such as the words inside the square brackets in (12) (cf. e.g., Åfarli & Eide, 2003, pp. 175-179).

- (12) Aida hørte [toget si tøff tøff]  
 A. heard [the-train say choo choo]

In a discussion of Swedish Root Infinitives, Platzack (1990a) has suggested that child language is deprived of functional categories (cf. Radford, 1990 *inter alia*), and that «sequences of words uttered by children at this stage can be described within the limits of VP» (p. 17), viz., that «the concept of finiteness does not play any syntactic role» (p. 20). In other words, verbs may have a finite or infinitive form, but the child will treat them as the same. This would explain why we don't find Root Infinitives in topicalizations and *wh*-questions, as the children do not have the structure to support it, viz., the CP.

However, Platzack (1992) challenges Platzack (1990a) and proposes to split Early Swedish into Early Early Swedish and Late Early Swedish, because of the relative order of finite verbs and the negative adverbial. The latter stage, he assumes, has structures that need to be explained with structure above the vP (but not necessarily always), while children in the former stage never do.

### 1.3.2 Truncation hypothesis

Somewhat similar to the small-clause hypothesis is the truncation hypothesis (Rizzi, 1993/1994, 2000). According to this hypothesis, children's clauses need not be whole CPs. The structure can be *truncated* anywhere below the CP, the result being that every projection above the truncation is deleted as well. Lack of TP implies lack of tense, rendering Root Infinitives. Because of the *truncation mechanism*, the CP will consequently also be deleted. Therefore there is no structure in Root Infinitives to support *wh*-questions or topicalizations (Rizzi, 1993/1994, p. 380).

### 1.3.3 Unique Checking Constraint hypothesis

Wexler's (1998) Unique Checking Constraint (UCC) hypothesis builds on his earlier Optional Infinitive account (e.g., Wexler, 1994) and the Agreement/Tense Omission Model

(ATOM) (e.g., Schütze & Wexler, 1996a). These approaches presuppose that the TP in (11) is split into an AgrP, responsible for subject–verb agreement, and a TP, responsible for tense. ATOM assumes that the child in the Optional Infinitive stage, where they interchangeably use Root Infinitives and finite clauses, optionally can omit the TP or the AgrP (or both). In either option – the omission of TP or the omission of AgrP – the verb will often lack tense or agreement inflection, which in English will result in a bare verb stem. In this approach, as opposed to Rizzi’s (1993/1994) truncation theory, it is just the one or two projections that are missing from the structure. The CP is still intact.

The motivation for ATOM was that children in the Optional Infinitive often use accusative case on the subject (*him not go*) or drop the subject altogether. Schütze and Wexler (1996a) and Wexler (1998) assume that AgrP licenses nominative case, and when this is omitted, the subject receives *default case*, which in English is accusative. When TP is omitted, Schütze and Wexler (1996a) and Wexler (1998) propose that a *null subject* PRO is licensed, as in non-finite structures in English (*Mary tried [PRO to leave]*) instead of an overt subject.<sup>4</sup>

Building on the ATOM model, and inspired by Chomsky’s Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995 and subsequent), Wexler (1998) proposed the *Unique Checking Constraint* (UCC). A more detailed explanation of UCC will be given in chapter 6.3. For now it will suffice to say that UCC presupposes a constraint on the child’s grammar which obstructs her from satisfying the needs of both TP and AgrP, whereby one of them must be omitted.<sup>5</sup>

### 1.3.4 Modal drop hypotheses

As mentioned in section 1.2.5, Root Infinitives are reported to often get a modal interpretation (the modal reference effect) and are predominantly used with eventive predicates (the eventivity constraint, Hoekstra & Hyams, 1998). This has led some scholars to propose that Root Infinitives involve missing or silent (modal) auxiliaries (e.g., Hyams, 2012; Jordens, 1990a, 1990b; Josefsson, 2002; Westergaard, 2009, forthcoming). That children often omit auxiliaries was noted already in Brown (1973), and Wijnen (1998) argues, for Dutch, «that temporal reference of these [RI] constructions is essentially free»

<sup>4</sup> That the subject is dropped also in finite clauses in child language, is explained as a *Topic-* or *Diary-drop* (Wexler, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Technically, Wexler (1998) proposes that there are uninterpretable D-features [*uD*] in both Agr<sup>o</sup> and T<sup>o</sup>, but the child’s grammar initially has a constraint that disallows the subject’s D-feature to check off more than one of the [*uD*] features (the UCC). Therefore, the [*uD*] in Agr<sup>o</sup> or T<sup>o</sup> would remain unchecked, whereby one of the categories must be omitted, otherwise the derivation will crash.

(p. 396), although a use «which is similar to the effect of a modal auxiliary such as *wil* (want) or the inchoative auxiliary *gaat* (is going to) is observed most frequently» (p. 396). To explain why English doesn't show the modal reference effect or the eventivity constraint, Hyams (2012) proposes an English null *do*, which is modally (and aspectually) neutral.

The modal drop hypotheses can account for all the characteristics of Root Infinitives mentioned in section 1.2, except for the incompatibility with topicalizations and *wh*-questions in some languages (as pointed out by Poeppel and Wexler, 1993 and Wexler, 1994, but see Westergaard, forthcoming). The target-like placement of negation and verb and the modal interpretation are readily explained as this patterns as expected if the Root Infinitives involved missing auxiliaries (cf. section 2.1.5). This also explains why auxiliaries never seem to occur as Root Infinitives.

### 1.3.5 Section conclusion

Although all these approaches have their explanatory strengths, I will argue in chapter 6 that none of them are completely satisfactory, either on empirical or theoretical grounds. The question of how RIs should be understood and analysed still remains unanswered in a satisfactory way.

## 1.4 Root Infinitives in adult language

Some scholars have pointed out that Root Infinitives are not non-existent in adult languages either (Haegeman, 1995; Lasser, 2002; Kupisch & Rinke, 2007, *inter alia*). Many of the proposals mentioned above assume that all adult root clauses are finite, or that root clauses with infinitives in adult language are *marked* or *special*. Wijnen (1998) writes that «in adult Dutch, infinitives are not allowed as independent predicates, with the exception of a small number of *marked* cases» (p. 386, my emphasis), and Rizzi (1993/1994) writes that «natural languages allow them [RIs] in some *special constructions*» (p. 375, my emphasis), devaluating whatever impact these structures might have on language acquisition in the respective languages. On the other hand, Lasser (2002) argues that the adult Root Infinitives must be taken into account in the description and analysis of child Root Infinitives, and that the approaches mentioned above «make inadequate predictions about children's linguistic behaviour SUBSEQUENT to the so-called optional-infinitive stage» (p. 767). In what follows I

present an adult Root Infinitive structure I argue to have a noteworthy impact on child language.

An adult root infinitive with an imperative-like meaning has been described for both Romance and Germanic languages, and goes under different monikers: Hortative infinitive, Jussive infinitive or Prescriptive Infinitive. Some examples with references are given in (13).

- |      |    |  |           |   |
|------|----|--|-----------|---|
| (13) | a. | <b>partire</b> immediatamente!<br>leave.INF immediately  | Italian   | (Rizzi, 1993/1994, p. 375)                          |
|      | b. | ne pas le <b>toucher</b> !<br><i>ne</i> not it touch<br>'don't touch it!'                          | French    | (Haegeman, 1995, p. 206)                            |
|      | c. | nicht <b>stossen</b> !<br>not hit.INF<br>'don't hit yourself!'                                     | German    | (M. Miller, 1976, cited in<br>Lasser, 2002, p. 776) |
|      | d. | Hier geen fietsen <b>plaatsen</b> !<br>Here no bicycles put.INF<br>'Don't park your bicycle here!' | Dutch     | (Wijnen, 1998, p. 387)                              |
|      | e. | ikkje <b>spise</b> den!<br>not eat.INF it<br>'don't eat it!'                                       | Norwegian | (Johannessen, submitted)                            |
|      | f. | inte <b>hälla</b> mjölken!<br>not pour.INF the-milk<br>'don't pour the milk!'                      | Swedish   | (Johannessen, submitted)                            |
|      | g. | <b>tørre</b> din næse<br>dry.INF your nose   | Danish    | (Johannessen, submitted)                            |
|      | h. | ekki <b>sitja</b> hérna<br>not sit.INF here<br>'don't sit here'                                    | Icelandic | (Johannessen, submitted)                            |

Since Johannessen (submitted) gives the most extensive account of these constructions in Norwegian and other North Germanic languages, I will adopt her term, *Prescriptive Infinitive*, in this thesis.

According to Johannessen (submitted), the Prescriptive Infinitives in North Germanic languages are predominantly «used in a very limited pragmatic context of a pleasant



atmosphere by adults towards very young children», and she therefore calls them «Child-directed Prescriptive Infinitives». This detail makes them even more relevant for us. The Norwegian Prescriptive Infinitive and its characteristics are discussed in section 3.2

There are other Root Infinitives in adult Norwegian as well. Apart from different elided structures, Norwegian also has the «Mad Magazine sentence», (a term coined by Akmajian, 1984). An example is given in (14). Although this construction is found in many languages (see e.g., Etxepare & Grohmann, 2005; Lambrecht, 1990), I have heard none in our adult data (as opposed to Prescriptive Infinitives, of which there are plenty), and I will just mention it here.

- (14) André jobbe på en lørdag!? aldri!  
‘André work on a Saturday!? Never!’

## 1.5 Finiteness and SLI

Verb morphology has been considered especially problematic for children with specific language impairment (SLI),<sup>6</sup> even to the extent that it has been proposed as a clinical marker or diagnostic tool (Rice & Wexler, 1996; Hanne Gram Simonsen & Bjerkan, 1998). Some scholars have proposed that these problems in SLI children are an extended period of the Root Infinitive stage which Typically Developing (TD) children go through (cf. Leonard, 2014, pp. 241–270 and the references there). Thus, the relevance of SLI in the present study is twofold. First, assessing the development of an adult-like system of finiteness in typically developing children can be useful in diagnosing and assessing the development of children with SLI. Second, the way we understand and analyse Root Infinitives in typical language development will have an impact on how we understand Root Infinitives in impaired language development. The data in this study are the norming data of the N-LARSP chart (Kristoffersen, Simonsen, Ribu, Løver, & Strand, forthcoming), the Norwegian adaptation of LARSP (Language Assessment Remediation and Screening Procedure; Crystal, 1979; Crystal, Fletcher, & Garman, 1976). LARSP is a procedure for screening children with SLI, which should make the data apt for a discussion of Root Infinitives in SLI in light of the findings in this thesis.

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<sup>6</sup> SLI is a language impairment that cannot be ascribed to other cognitive or physiological deficits. See section 2.3.

As mentioned above, problems with verb morphology in SLI have been proposed as a prolonged Root Infinitive stage, and the theories vary as to how Root Infinitives are analysed, i.e., a delay rather than a deviance. Other accounts see the problems with verb morphology in SLI as a deviance in the grammar. One of the approaches in favour of a delay-account is the Surface Account of Leonard (1989) that sees Root Infinitives in SLI as incomplete acquisition of morpho-phonology, due to difficulties with perception of inflectional affixes, due to their relatively short duration and amplitude and therefore low salience in the input. This again results in incomplete inflectional paradigms. According to Leonard (1989), SLI children have a prolonged Root Infinitive stage because «these children are especially limited in their ability to perceive grammatical elements» (1989, p. 186), and therefore need a larger amount of input in order to correctly acquire inflectional paradigms.

Another *delay* account for verb morphology problems in SLI is the *Extended* Unique Checking Constraint hypothesis (EUCC) (Wexler, 2003), where the SLI children have the same constraint on their grammar – the Unique Checking Constraint – as TD children, but for a longer period (cf. sections 1.3.3 and 6.3).

Other accounts, which we can call *deviance*-accounts, view the cause of the difficulties with verb morphology observed in SLI children as a deviant grammar, rather than a delayed one. One of these accounts is the Representational Deficit for Dependent Relations (RDDR) hypothesis (see e.g., van der Lely, 1998). In RDDR, the deviant grammar of SLI children is seen as deficiency in the syntactic operation *move* (cf. section 2.1).

I argue that the dichotomy between deviance or delay explanations for Root Infinitives in SLI can be construed as whether it is a deviance in the grammatical system that has a direct or indirect effect on it in the former case, or if it is just a side effect of a deficiency in another, more peripheral system in the latter case. If the deviance is grammatical and has a direct effect, we would expect the Root Infinitive stage in SLI children to be deviant from TD children and not just prolonged. Conversely, if the deviance was a more peripheral one, one could expect that it had an impact on the processing of linguistic data, with the effect that the SLI child would need more input to acquire rules and constraints, resulting in a delayed acquisition.

For reasons of space and because the language of TD children is the main focus of this thesis, I am prevented from elaborating on the subject and the different theories here. We will however return to SLI in section 2.3. The topic of delay vs. deviance in light of the data and analysis provided in this thesis is discussed section 6.6.

## 1.6 Theoretical framework

I frame this study within generative theory and the minimalist research program (Chomsky, 1993 and subsequent). I view language as a «device», able to generate an infinite number of sentences based on finite means. This «device» – the generative component – involves innate principles specific to language, distinct from other human cognitive abilities.

The generative grammar is a part of the speaker's *competence* («the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language» Chomsky, 1965, p. 4), as distinguished from her *performance* («the actual use of language in concrete situations» Chomsky, 1965, p. 4). The speaker's competence is also called the internalized language (I-language),<sup>7</sup> and is the object of study in this approach to language. In a dichotomous relation with I-language is the notion of Externalized Language (E-Language). E-Language is «the notion of language as a collection (or system) of actions or behaviours of some sort» (Chomsky, 1986, p. 20), i.e., language as a sum of *performances*, such as the notion of a specific languages (e.g., English or Norwegian).

Central to generative grammar, is the notion of a Faculty of Language (FL). FL is a part of the human cognitive capacity, particularly dedicated to language, and shared by all humans. An I-language is thus a state of the FL, and the starting point – the initial state of FL – is Universal Grammar (UG) (Chomsky, 2007, p. 1; 2013, p. 33). The study of language acquisition is thus the study of the transition from a «blank» UG to particular I-languages. Details are given in section 2.2. As will be evident I will assume that:

- there are no child specific principles of grammar.
- the C-T-v structure is universal.

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<sup>7</sup> I-language is understood as «some element of the mind of the person who knows the language, acquired by the learner, and used by the speaker-hearer» (Chomsky, 1986, p. 22), i.e., the specific, individual grammar, which is the result of forces driving language acquisition and variation just mentioned above.

- there is micro-parametric variation, as outlined in section 2.2.1, where we assume that language acquisition basically involves learning which features are connected to which categories (cf. section 2.1).

## 1.7 Research questions

My research questions take as a point of departure the descriptions, analyses, and hypotheses outlined above. The new data gathered and the analysis given in this thesis may throw light on the acquisition of verbal morphosyntax in typically developing children, and possibly also atypical developing children learning Norwegian.

1. Is there a Root Infinitive stage in Norwegian child language?
2. How should Root Infinitives be understood within the theoretical framework of generative minimalist syntax?
  - 2.1 To what extent do the four hypotheses outlined above (the small-clause hypothesis, the truncation hypothesis, the unique checking constraint hypothesis, and the modal drop hypothesis) give satisfactory analyses of Root Infinitives, empirically and theoretically?
  - 2.2 Can a more satisfactory analysis of the Root Infinitive be given, based on new data from Norwegian child language?
3. What impact will the analysis put forward in this thesis have on Root Infinitives as a diagnostic marker for Specific Language Impairment, in particular within the N-LARSP scheme?

The research questions will be addressed through a combination of empirical data and theoretical discussion. The study is mainly qualitative in nature, but makes use of statistical methods to identify patterns in the data and trends in the development.

## 2 Theoretical background

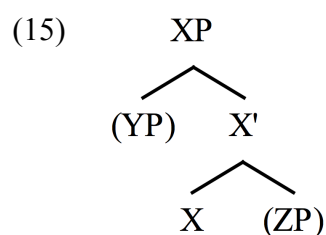
In this chapter, I will sketch out the syntactic formalism of this thesis (section 2.1), elaborate on the approach to language acquisition introduced in section 1.6 (section 2.2), and give a further discussion on SLI (section 2.3). (The specific formalism used in my analysis builds on the formalism outlined in the following section, and will be sketched out in section 6.5.)

### 2.1 Syntactic theory

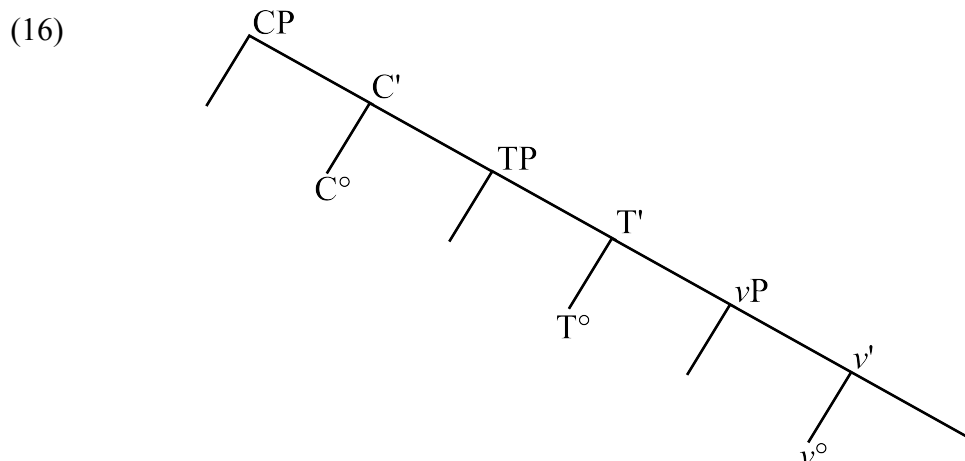
In this chapter I will outline the syntactic formalism I will use in this thesis.

#### 2.1.1 The X-bar scheme and the CP-TP-vP system

Central for most modern models in transformational generative grammar, is the notion of projection: a head drawn from the lexicon projects – or «builds» – its own syntactic structure. The head  $X$  (often  $X^0$ ) projects a middle projection ( $X'$ , or  $X$ -bar), and a maximal projection ( $XP$ ). The derivation of grammatical clauses proceeds in the manner described in the ensuing chapter. All projections are taken to be binary branching, see (15), allowing for a sister of the head ( $ZP$ ) – the comp(lement) position – and a sister of the bar-projection ( $YP$ ) – the spec(ificator) position. (See e.g., Hornstein, Nunes, & Grohmann, 2005, Chapter 6)



We assume there are three different levels or *domains* of the syntactic derivation, each bearing specific functions. These are often referred to as the v-domain, the T-domain, and the C-domain.



The v-domain, also called «the lexical layer» (Rizzi, 1997, p. 281), is headed by a verbal element, and establishes argument structure and event structure. The T-domain introduces inflectional features, such as tense, aspect, and subject-verb agreement. The C-domain is responsible for introducing information about the (linguistic or extra-linguistic) context to the syntax. In a matrix clause, this includes temporal information, temporally anchoring the clause to the speech event, information about the speech event participants, such as the addresser and the addressee(s), and old and new information in the discourse (e.g., Platzack, 2010, p. 98). For a subordinate clause the structure is basically the same, but the C-domain establishes the connection to the matrix clause.

Each domain is often thought to have several projections, the number, names and functions of which differ between scholars. In the illustration above the three domains have been collapsed for simplicity.

As Epstein, Thráinsson, and Zwart (1996) put it, a «standard distinction exists in linguistic theory between contentful elements and functional elements. Word stems [here: *roots*, cf. section 2.1.4] are contentful elements, whereas inflectional morphemes are functional elements» (p. 11). Contentful elements are elements such as verbs and nouns. Functional elements are harder to define, but may convey morphological notions that are often expressed by inflectional morphemes, such as tense and definiteness. Often, however, they are present without phonetic form in the syntactic derivation, or only indirectly through movement of other elements (cf. section 2.1.3). The division of labour between functional and lexical elements is subject to some debate, but this lies outside the scope of the present thesis.

### 2.1.2 The syntactic derivation

In most transformational accounts of syntax (Chomsky, 1993 [1981] and subsequent), it is assumed that the syntax interacts with two «*external*» systems: «the articulatory-perceptual system A-P and the conceptual-intentional system C-I» (Chomsky, 1995, p. 2). Simply put, A-P is responsible for the sensory-motor component of language processing, transforming grammatical symbols into sound or signs (or arguably letters) in language production, or vice versa in language perception. C-I is responsible for the thought component of language processing, involving whatever part of cognition adhering to that (Chomsky, 2013).

Consequently, there are two interfaces between the syntax and the two external systems: Logic Form (LF) to C-I, and Phonetic Form (PF) to A-P. These interfaces have several conditions that need to be satisfied in order for the syntactic derivation to be interpretable at each of the external systems A-P and C-I. According to minimalist theory, these criteria are the main driving force of the syntax. This is the hypothesis of *minimalist design*: «a theory of language that takes a linguistic expression to be nothing other than a formal object that satisfies the interface conditions in an optimal way» (Chomsky, 1993, p. 5).

In an operation called *Spell-Out*, the syntactic derivation splits and is sent to LF and PF, where it is objected to further operations separately. Before *Spell-Out*, all the interface conditions must have been met, or the derivation will crash.

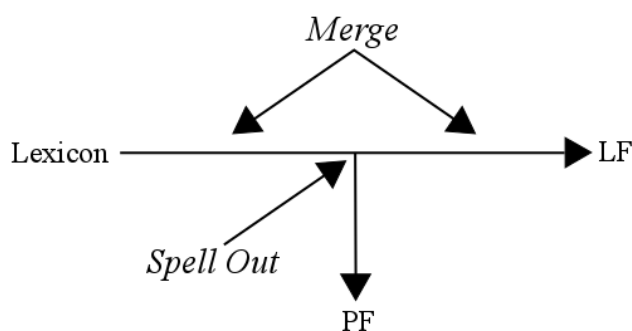


Figure 1: The derivational language mechanism. Adapted from Epstein et al. (1996, p. 5).

The interface conditions are construed as a restriction in the interfaces that some features in the derivation are *uninterpretable* for C-I (or, for some features, possibly A-P), and need to be deleted before *Spell-Out*. (Features are discussed below.) In order to delete the uninterpretable features, the syntax has two mechanisms available: *Merge* and *Agree*.

There are two types of Merge: *external* merge and *internal* merge. External merge combines two elements, while internal merge makes a copy of one element in the structure and merges that copy somewhere else in the same structure (cf. e.g. Platzack, 2010).<sup>8</sup> Agree will be introduced below.

### 2.1.3 Features

The interface conditions introduced above are conceived in terms of grammatical features, in the manner outlined above and in this section. In line with Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), I assume that features can be valued/unvalued and interpretable/uninterpretable. Interpretable features are features that contribute to the semantic interpretation of the head where it resides (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007, p. 264), i.e., it is interpretable by the conceptual-intentional system (C-I), thus, it can be sent to the interface (LF). If a feature does not contribute to the semantic interpretation, it is uninterpretable by C-I, and must be checked through Agree (and deleted) by another instance of the same feature.

Unvalued features are features that need to receive a value from a valued instance of the same feature – a matching feature – before Spell-Out or the derivation will crash (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007, p. 263).

Feature checking is done by a head with a feature that needs to be checked (for the reasons described above) – a *probe* – searching within its C-command domain<sup>9</sup> for a head with features that can satisfy the probe – a *goal*. This is the mechanism referred to as *Agree*.

Some features are marked EPP, which indicates that the matching of that feature need to be visible for the articulatory-perceptual (A-P) system. This is made visible through the goal being merged either to the head where the feature resides, or in the specifier of the head through internal merge. The EPP feature is then deleted. (Platzack, 2010, pp. 78-79).

---

<sup>8</sup> Internal merge is often called *move*, as the operation moves one element from one place in the structure to another place in the structure, leaving a *copy* or a *trace*, depending on the specific framework.

<sup>9</sup> C-command is defined as follows. «Node A c-commands node B iff (a)  $A \neq B$ , (b) A does not dominate B and B does not dominate A [i.e., neither is the mother node of the other], and (c) every X that dominates A also dominates B» (C-command). The C-commanding domain of A comprises of all nodes that are C-commanded by A.



An important class of features for the discussion in this thesis is  $\phi$ -features (the Greek letter *phi*).  $\phi$ -features are features such as number, person and gender, which for example can have implication for subject–verb and noun–adjective agreement.

#### **2.1.4 Late insertion and distributed morphology**

In the analysis in this thesis I will assume a *Late insertion*-theory of morphology along the lines of *Distributional Morphology* as sketched out in Halle and Marantz (1994). In this name lies that the different morphological properties are distributed into separate modules, rather than being representations of sound/meaning-pairs stored in a single list. In the following, I will present the procedure sketched out in Harley (2015) *inter alia*.

Instead of one list, distributed morphology assumes that there are three. The first list is the list that is needed for the syntactic derivation. Since the syntactic derivation in minimalist syntax is assumed to be nothing more than an operation to satisfy the interface criteria, and the interface criteria involve features, I assume that this list contains feature bundles, both functional and contentful. The contentful elements are roots, which often are represented as «abstract roots» with a numerical address (e.g., *ROOT*<sub>347</sub>), where the numerical address works as an instruction to the two other lists. A subset of this list to be inserted in syntax – the numeration – is manipulated by the syntactic operations *Merge* and *Agree* to build a syntactic structure that can satisfy the interface criteria before Spell-Out. At Spell-Out, the syntactic structure has several terminal nodes («end branches» on the syntactic tree). The syntactic structure is then sent both to LF and PF as described above. At PF, the terminal nodes need to be filled with phonetic content. Elements from a second list – a list of *vocabulary items* – then *race* or *compete* to fill the terminal nodes with phonological content. The vocabulary item has a phonetic form and a set of features, and the vocabulary item with the most complete subset of the features in the terminal node becomes «victorious» and is inserted into the node. At LF, further operations are possibly applied before the semantic interpretation of the feature bundles and the roots in the terminal nodes are supplied from the third list, which is connected to the (mental) encyclopedia.

Since we now operate with three lists instead of one, we need to revise the derivational model in figure 1 somewhat.

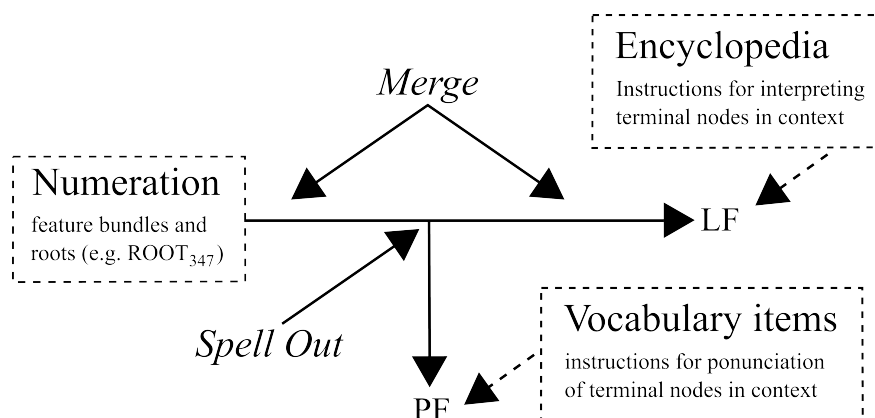


Figure 2: The derivational language mechanism, revised.

Adapted from Epstein et al. (1996, p. 5) and Harley (2015, p. 3).

### 2.1.5 Verb inflection in the syntactic derivation

There are two functional categories that are specially connected to verb inflection, and thus particularly interesting to us here: *finiteness* and *tense*. As we will see in chapter 6, there are several ways this can be analysed. For clarity, I will present a possible, and somewhat rudimentary derivation of a finite root clause here.

A root (e.g.  $\text{ROOT}_{347}$ , which at C-I will get the meaning ‘RUN’) is merged into a  $\nu\text{P}$ .<sup>10</sup>  $\nu^\circ$ , now bearing the root, has an uninterpretable, valued tense feature, e.g.  $[\text{u}\tau: \text{PAST}]$ . The  $\nu\text{P}$  is further merged into the complement of a negation phrase (NegP), which has a negation in it. The NegP, with the  $\nu\text{P}$  inside of it, is further merged into the complement of a TP.  $\text{T}^\circ$  has an interpretable, unvalued tense feature,  $[\text{i}\tau: \_]$ , which needs to be valued before Spell Out and acts as a probe.  $\text{T}^\circ$  finds  $\nu^\circ$  in its C-commanding domain, enters into an agree-relation with it, and inherits its value (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007).<sup>11</sup>

The TP is further merged into the complement position of the CP. Rizzi (1997) has proposed that the CP is split into several functional projections, as sketched out below – the so-called *split CP*. The topmost projection, ForceP, encodes the «illocutionary force» of the utterance (cf. Searle, 1976), i.e., whether it is an interrogative, an imperative, an exclamative, or a declarative and so forth is marked in  $\text{Force}^\circ$ . The lowest projection of the split CP,

<sup>10</sup> It is often assumed that roots are first merged into structure as root phrases ( $\sqrt{\text{P}}$ ), which later are inserted into noun phrases (nP) or verb phrases ( $\nu\text{P}$ ). Thus, the root  $\text{ROOT}_{347}$  can get a verbal form and interpretation, e.g. *ran* or a nominal form and interpretation, e.g. *(a) run*. This operation is of less importance to us here.

<sup>11</sup> Any use of temporal expressions, such as *then*, *before* or *now*, in the discussion of the syntactic derivation throughout this thesis, should not be taken as indications that I imply some specific temporality or chronology of the derivation. The model outlined here is not meant to be a description of brain activity, but a formal representation of the principle we believe to underlie it.

Fin(iteness)P encodes finiteness (the functions of finiteness will be sufficiently elaborated from section 6.5.1 and on). The other projections, TopP and FocP, are of less importance here, and will not concern us further.

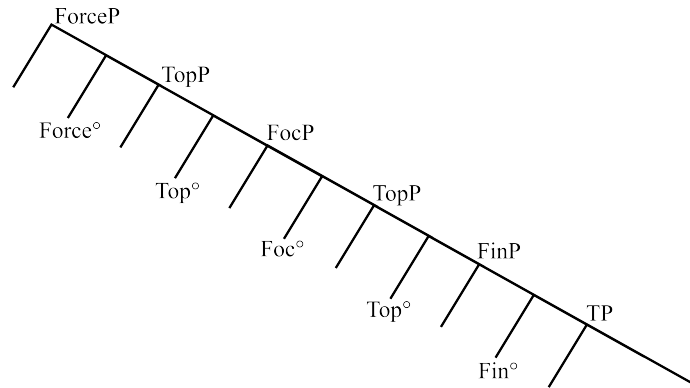
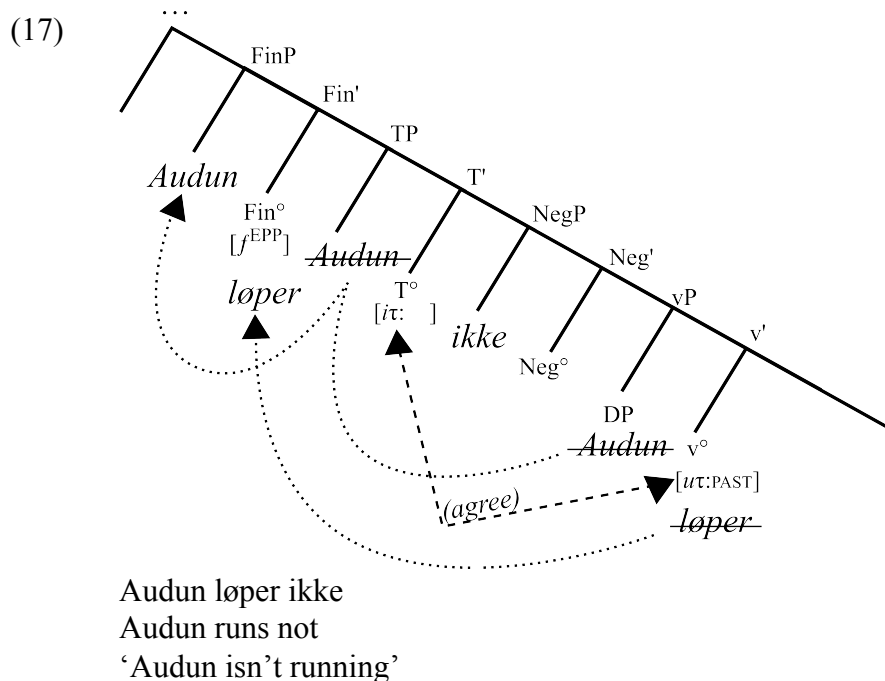


Figure 3: The split CP structure

Continuing on the syntactic derivation, I assume there to be an unvalued finiteness feature in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , and that this feature is EPP-marked ( $[f^{\text{EPP}}]$ ). Being EPP-marked, it demands to be overtly checked by movement to itself or its specifier position, in this case by the finite verb. Therefore, the finite verb in  $v^\circ$  moves to  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , crucially past the  $\text{NegP}$ . For reasons we do not need to get into here, let us assume a subject DP, which has been merged into  $\text{Spec-}v\text{P}$ , and moved into  $\text{Spec-TP}$ , moves lastly to  $\text{Spec-FinP}$ , creating the V2 effect (cf. e.g., Platzack, 2010). We have thus arrived at the clause in (17): *Audun løper ikke* ‘Audun isn’t running’.



If an auxiliary were to be inserted, the auxiliary would be finite and move to Fin°, while the main verb would be non-finite and left in v°, not crossing the negation.

## 2.2 Language acquisition

The question of language acquisition – how children acquire such a complex system as a language in such a quick and seemingly effortless manner – has been one of the primary locomotors of linguistic theory in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. First, behaviourist psychologists proposed that language was merely a set of rules that had to be automatized (see Skinner, 1957). In this theory, the child was assumed to mimic the language in her environment (the stimuli). She was assumed to be «rewarded» (e.g., by a positive response, or an indication that she has been understood) for uttering something «correctly», in which case the rule was *positively reinforced*. If the child would utter something «incorrectly», the child would be «punished» (e.g., by correction, or by not being understood), in which case the rule would be *negatively reinforced*.

In his 1959 critique of Skinner's book, Chomsky argued that the behaviourist view could not be upheld. Children (and adults) end up with a grammar that can comprehend and produce utterances which they have never before encountered (cf. section 1.6 on the «generative component»), and that they cannot have been «rewarded» for. In Chomsky's words:

*It appears that we recognize a new item as a sentence not because it matches some familiar item in any simple way, but because it is generated by the grammar that each individual has somehow and in some form internalized. And we understand a new sentence, in part, because we are somehow capable of determining the process by which this sentence is derived in this grammar. (Chomsky, 1959)*

This notion – that children acquire the capability of producing a potentially infinite number of sentences, although the number of sentences in their stimulus is finite – is one of two main points in the *poverty of the stimulus* argument. The other point is the lack of negative evidence in the child's input, i.e., the child is never told which interpretation different sentences cannot have or which sentences are ill formed. This has led to the *innateness* theory, that children bring something to the language acquisition process:

*Consideration of the character of the grammar that is acquired, the degenerate quality and narrowly limited extent of the available data, the striking uniformity of the resulting grammars, and their independence of intelligence, motivation, and emotional state, over wide ranges of variation, leave little hope that much of the structure of the language can be learned by an organism initially uninformed as to its general character. (Chomsky, 1965, p. 58)*

What is assumed to be brought to the language acquisition is the Universal Grammar (UG, cf. section 1.6 and the next section).

So-called usage-based theories want to account for language acquisition by arguing that children use their general cognitive abilities to discover language in the input data (see e.g., Bybee, 2010 and Tomasello, 2003). In these approaches, the child is often thought to start by acquiring lexically specific phrases in a token-based manner. The human brain, these theories argue, is specialized in discovering patterns and making generalizations over the stimuli. The child uses these abilities to gradually generalize over tokens of lexically specific phrases to make increasingly abstract schemes or structures. In these approaches, there is no innate UG, only domain general principles (i.e., principles not specific to language) that govern the linguistic ability.

As for the poverty of stimulus argument, more recent studies of child-directed speech (CDS, also known as *motherese*) have shown that caretakers scaffold their speech in specific and consistent ways, which means that the input is somewhat less degenerate than indicated in the citation above. (For a review of the characteristics of CDS, see Soderstrom, 2007).

Despite the scaffolding of the child's language input, I will assume UG as a cognitive component dedicated to language. One reason is the lack of negative evidence and the presence of constraints (that sometimes appear to be specific to language). While rules possibly can be learned by positive evidence, learning of constraints would need negative evidence (cf. Crain & Lillo-Martin, 1999, p. 53). Consider the examples in (18), from Berwick, Pietroski, Yankama, and Chomsky (2011, p. 1210). The correct response to (18a) is *unambiguously* (18b), and never (18c).

- (18) a. can eagles that fly eat?  
 b. eagles that fly can eat  
 c. eagles that can fly eat

As is evident from (18b) and (18c), there are two possible extraction sites for the modal auxiliary *can* in the polarity question in (18a): either before *eat* in the matrix clause, or before *fly* in the embedded relative clause. Given this, the relevant question is: how can the child learn that (18c) is not an appropriate answer to (18a) without negative evidence?

The extent to which the innate principles are part of general cognition or UG is not fully understood. But it seems clear that there are some aspects of the linguistic system that cannot be fully accounted for in terms of other cognitive systems. (See e.g., Adger, 2013 in response to the usage-based account proposed by Goldberg, 2013 ).

As mentioned in section 1.6, I will frame this thesis within generative grammar, and I regard the study of language acquisition as the study of the transition from UG to particular I-languages. In order to explore this, a discussion of the nature of UG and parametric variation is needed. In the following sections, I will therefore outline an approach to linguistic variation.

### **2.2.1 UG and parametric variation**

In section 2.1.2 I outlined Chomsky's (1993) hypothesis of minimal design, where the syntactic derivation is seen as «a formal object that satisfies the interface conditions in an optimal way» (p. 5). As an implication, to the extent that the syntactic derivation varies between languages it is restricted to which features partake in the derivation and need to be checked before Spell Out.

Further, language variation must necessarily be limited to what is *visible* in the child's primary linguistic data, i.e., «Saussurean arbitrariness (association of concepts with phonological matrices), properties of grammatical formatives (inflection, etc.), and readily detectable properties that hold of lexical items generally» (Chomsky, 1995, pp. 169-170). Thus, language variation in the computation of syntactic structures is restricted to the lexicon, specifically inflectional features. This is the so-called Borer-Chomsky conjuncture, coined by Baker (2008, p. 156).

- (19) a. «Parametric variation is restricted to the lexicon, and insofar as syntactic computation is concerned, to a narrow category of morphological properties, primarily inflectional.» (Chomsky, 2001, p. 2)
- b. «The availability of variation [is restricted] to the possibilities which are offered by one single component: the inflectional component.» (Borer, 1984, p. 3)

This means, as pointed out already in Platzack (1996), that language acquisition must be construed as the child figuring out what the features of different functional heads are.

This contrasts with earlier assumptions about language variation in generative grammar, where it was proposed that some parts of UG were realized as a set of binary parameters of certain principles of UG. These parameters were valued as positive or negative based on the child's input, and language variation could be accounted for by the constellation of different parameters (e.g., Chomsky, 1981). According to the Borer-Chomsky-conjuncture variation is a 2<sup>nd</sup> factor phenomenon – based on the linguistic experience of the child – but is *limited* by UG and principles not specific to language – the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> of Chomsky's (2005, p. 6) «three factors in language design», a simplified version of which is given in (20).

- (20) *Three factors in language design*. Adapted from (Chomsky, 2005, p. 6)
- |                 |                                     |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | UG                                  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | Linguistic input                    |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | Principles not specific to language |

A minimalist assumption is that UG is minimal, and perhaps «comprises only the core computational mechanisms [...] as they appear in narrow syntax and the mappings to the interfaces» (Hauser, Chomsky, & Fitch, 2002, p. 1573).<sup>12</sup> A part of the minimalist program is to identify how much of language acquisition and variation can be accredited to the 2<sup>nd</sup> factor: «The [minimalist program] seeks to approach the problem 'from bottom up': How little can be attributed to UG [to account for language acquisition,] while still accounting for the variety of I-languages attained» (Chomsky, 2007, p. 4), i.e., to minimize UG. Thus, «responsible nativists try to account for the knowledge attained with the sparest plausible language-specific schematism» (Berwick et al., 2011, p. 1210).

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<sup>12</sup> This quote from Hauser et al. (2002) actually discuss the faculty of language in the narrow sense (NFL), but I argue that it corresponds to UG the way it is defined in this thesis.

In this thesis, I will take a strong minimalist stance, and attribute as little as possible to language-specific (UG) principles. In the next section I will discuss the implications this has on how we understand language acquisition.

### 2.2.2 Implications for language acquisition

Now, we return to the question of how the child's transition from the «default state» UG, to a full-fledged I-language (cf. section 1.6). In the previous section I argued, in line with the Borer-Chomsky conjuncture, that language acquisition must be construed as involving the child's figuring out what the different syntactic features of the language are, from the input (i.e., the 2<sup>nd</sup> factor). I add to this that language acquisition is also dependent on the maturing of principles not specific to language (i.e., the 3<sup>rd</sup> factor). The remaining question is whether the 1<sup>st</sup> factor – UG – is also subject to maturation – a *maturational* account (see e.g., Borer & Wexler, 1987) – or whether it has its mature form from birth or from very early on – the *Full Competence Hypothesis* (see e.g., Poeppel & Wexler, 1993).

As I have assumed a minimalist UG that only comprises the computational mechanisms of syntax, I see no reason why it should need much time to mature. I will therefore adopt the Full Competence Hypothesis, and assume that children's UG is like the adult UG.<sup>13</sup> I.e., it is driven by exactly the same mechanisms. This means that the differences between adult and child language depend on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> factors, i.e., incomplete (interpretation of the) input, and immature principles not specific to language. Since the child's linguistic competence is constrained by the same UG that constraints adult language, the Full Competence Hypothesis is tantamount to saying that child grammar cannot vary from adult grammar in other ways than adult grammars can vary from each other (the Modularity Matching Model, cf. Crain & Thornton, 1998).

In this approach then, there can be no principles of UG specific to children, since the adult and the child UG is the same. I assume further that the CP-TP-vP structure outlined in section 2.1.1 is universal and available to children.

The feat of language acquisition then boils down to the child associating different features with different functional and lexical projections, in a *micro-parametric* way (see e.g.,

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<sup>13</sup> If UG does need to mature, I will anyway propose that it, given its minimal size, would have matured before the age of 2;0, and consequently in the children in this study.



Westergaard, 2009), guided and limited by UG and their continuously maturing domain-general (3<sup>rd</sup> factor) principles,

## 2.3 Specific language impairment

Specific language impairment (SLI) has traditionally been believed to be *specific to language*, hence its name. A definition of SLI as a deficit in language development that cannot be ascribed to neurological damage, hearing impairment, deformations in the speech organs, severe environmental deprivation, or mental retardation (cf. Leonard, 2014), presupposes *per se* that the language system is modular and domain specific. If language is domain general, there can be no such thing as impairment specific to language.

There are however scientific findings that indicate that SLI isn't as specific to language as its name indicates. For example, Ullman and Pierpont (2005) argue in their extensive review for the Procedural Deficit Hypothesis, in which they argue that SLI can be ascribed to a deficit in the procedural memory system. If this is correct, a theoretical framework is still needed to fathom *why* and *how* this is related to the linguistic processing, and to describe its grammatical reflexes.

Regardless of whether or not SLI is specific to language, it is clear that how we understand the nature of SLI has ramifications for how we understand the nature of language, i.e., whether language is *domain specific*, and to what extent. Consequently the theoretical investigation of SLI has consequences for our understanding of language acquisition and language in general, and their cognitive disposition.

In section 1.5, it was noted that verb morphology has been reported to be particularly problematic for SLI children. Several explanation for this have been put forward, and some of them were reviewed in section 1.5. In an extensive review of the results from several experimental studies of tense acquisition in children and adolescents with SLI, Bishop (2014) concluded that the findings to this date do not support explanations that involve problems with phonological formulation or application of morphophonological rules. The former cannot explain why children with SLI perform poorly on grammaticality judgments, word monitoring, and show different problems in passives and past tense. The latter cannot

explain why children with SLI have problems with both regular *and* irregular verb forms (Bishop, 2014, p. 5). Bishop argues that

*The pattern of errors observed in grammaticality judgement and word-monitoring tasks, plus the frequency of bare stem errors on irregular as well as regular verbs suggest that the problem for children with SLI is in knowing when to apply tense marking, rather than with how to do so. In other words, the problem is with syntax rather than morpho-phonological rules.* (Bishop, 2014, p. 5 emphasis original)

SLI children make out a heterogeneous group (cf. Leonard, 2014, pp. 3 and 29-32) with regard to the severity of the deviance, and also with regard to which linguistic area is deviant. As indicated in the quote above, not all subgroups are interesting to us. To the extent that this thesis has relevance for SLI, the relevance is limited to subgroups of SLI that have problems with (morpho)syntax, and probably corresponds more or less with the so-called Grammatical SLI (G-SLI) group, which has particular problems with different syntactic operations, such as past tense marking, theta-role assignment, and binding principles. The grammars of these speakers are not completely deprived of any of these operations, but target and non-target forms co-occur in their output (van der Lely, 2003, pp. 125-126).

## 3 Some details about Norwegian

Norwegian is a North Germanic, Scandinavian language with approximately 5 million native speakers, mainly in Norway. The dialect under investigation in this thesis is the dialect found in and around Oslo. In this chapter I will first discuss the verbal morphology in Norwegian, and the Norwegian Prescriptive Infinitive.

### 3.1 Verbal morphology

In Norwegian, the verb is marked for tense – present or past – but not for person or number agreement. Ignoring the imperative for now, Norwegian has two finite – past and present – and two non-finite verb forms – infinitive and past participle. The present participle is adjectival in Norwegian (Faarlund, Lie, & Vannebo, 1997, p. 117)<sup>14</sup>.

Norwegian conjugations can be divided into two weak verb classes and a few strong verb classes. In addition, some verbs have irregular or suppletive verb paradigms (see Faarlund et al., 1997, pp. 474-507). The defining difference between the weak and strong groups is whether the preterite is marked by a suffix, as in the weak verbs (**-a/-te**), or whether it is «marked» with a bare stem, often with a vowel change, as in the strong verbs. The regular group can be further divided into two subclasses: the large weak (LW) and the small weak (SW) class on basis of their morphological paradigms (Ragnarsdottir, Simonsen, & Plunkett, 1999) (see table 3).<sup>15</sup> The regular verb classes have a much higher type frequency than the irregular class. According to Ragnarsdottir et al., the weak classes amount to 96% of the Norwegian verbs (p. 587). Conversely most irregular verbs have a relatively high token frequency.

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<sup>14</sup> The present participle always has the verb stem plus the ending **-ende** (e.g., *drikkende* 'drinking') in Norwegian

<sup>15</sup> Both the regular and irregular verbs can be further subdivided into smaller groups on basis of morphological differences, but here the distinction made in table 3 will suffice.

	Infinitive		Present	Preterite	Participle	Imperative
WL class	kast- <b>e</b>	‘throw’	kast- <b>er</b>	kast- <b>et/-a</b>	kast- <b>et/-a</b>	kast- <b>Ø</b>
WS class	spis- <b>e</b>	‘eat’	spis- <b>er</b>	spis- <b>te</b>	spis- <b>t</b>	spis- <b>Ø</b>
Irregular	drikk- <b>e</b>	‘drink’	drikk- <b>er</b>	drakk- <b>Ø</b>	drukk- <b>et</b>	drikk- <b>Ø</b>
	komm- <b>e</b>	‘come’	komm- <b>er</b>	kom- <b>Ø</b>	komm- <b>et</b>	kom- <b>Ø</b>
	si- <b>Ø</b>	‘say’	si- <b>er</b>	sa- <b>Ø</b>	sag- <b>t</b>	si- <b>Ø</b>

Table 3: Overview of verb forms in standard Norwegian

(adapted from Westergaard, 2005, p. 11)

Some verbs have a difference in *accent tones* between the infinitive and present tense forms. This mostly pertains to the irregular verbs, but also some verbs that were irregular in earlier stages of the language and have been *regularized* (Haugen, 1967, p. 194). Most regular verbs have accent tone 2 in both the infinitive and the present tense. In the South-Eastern dialect, accent tone 2 is characterized by a high falling pitch in the first syllable (Bjerkan, 2005, p. 213). In the subgroup with accent tone differentiation, the infinitives have accent tone 2, but the present tense has accent tone 1, which is characterized by a steady, low pitch in the first syllable in the South-Eastern dialect (Bjerkan, 2005, p. 213). I will refer to the verb groups that have accent tone 1 in present tense as T1 verbs, and the verbs that have accent tone 2 throughout the paradigm as T2 verbs. Some examples are given in (21), written orthographically with superscripted numbers to indicate the different accent tones for simplicity.

- (21)
- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Infinitive (accent tone 2)     | Present tense (accent tone 1) |
| å <sup>2</sup> komme ‘to come’ | <sup>1</sup> kommer           |
| å <sup>2</sup> sitte ‘to sit’  | <sup>1</sup> sitter           |
| å <sup>2</sup> lese ‘to read’  | <sup>1</sup> leser            |

As will become evident in chapter 4, this distinction will be important in the coding of the data. A list of T1 verbs in our data is given in Appendix 1.

## 3.2 The Norwegian Prescriptive Infinitive

As mentioned in chapter 1.4, Norwegian has a prescriptive infinitive, which is predominantly used in child-directed speech. To my knowledge, the Norwegian prescriptive infinitive has not yet been described in any published material, but Johannessen (submitted) gives a thorough account of it in all living North Germanic languages and its syntactic and pragmatic characteristics. She calls it Child-directed Prescriptive Infinitives (CDPI), but for

brevity, and because we will also discuss this construction in child language later, I will use the term Prescriptive Infinitive in this thesis.

According to Johannessen's seminal work, the Prescriptive Infinitive differs syntactically in numerous ways from the standard imperative. In both the imperative and the prescriptive infinitives the subject is often omitted, but when the subject is overtly expressed, it follows the verb in imperatives and precedes the verb in Prescriptive Infinitives (compare (22a) and 22b)). In Norwegian imperatives, the negation can either follow or precede the verb, whereas in the Prescriptive Infinitive it can only precede the verb (compare (22c-f)). With some exceptions (see the discussion in chapter 6.5.9, or Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 589), the Norwegian imperative can only have a second person subject, which is evident on the reflexive pronoun when the subject is not overt. In the Prescriptive Infinitive on the other hand, the subject seems to be restricted to lexical DPs and a 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive pronoun (compare (22a) and 22b)).

- |      |    |   |   |
|------|----|---|---|
| (22) | a. | gå dere i forveien,      så kommer jeg etter<br>go.IMP you.PL in ahead, then come.PRES I after<br><br>'you go ahead, I'll come later'   | imperative<br>(Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 589)           |
|      | b. | ... <b>Nora</b> sitte    rolig    der    Nora<br>N.                sit.INF   quietly there   N.<br>'Nora sit quietly there, Nora'   | Prescriptive Infinitive<br>(Johannessen, submitted)     |
|      | c. | ikke    gjør    det!<br>not    do.IMP it<br>'don't do it!'  | imperative  |
|      | d. | bli                ikke    lærer ...<br>become.IMP   not    teacher<br>'don't become a teacher...'<br><br>(...hvis du ønsker en avstressende job)<br>(...if you want a relaxing job)' | imperative<br>(Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 589)           |
|      | e. | <b>ikke klore</b> da      får      mamma vondt!<br>not scratch.INF then   gets    mummy pain<br>'don't scratch, that'll hurt mummy!'  | Prescriptive Infinitive<br>(present study)              |
|      | f. | <b>*klore ikke</b> da      får      mamma vondt   | Prescriptive Infinitive<br>(cf. Johannessen, submitted) |

The characteristics of the Prescriptive Infinitive are summed up in table 4.

- 
- a. Prescriptive (imperative) force.
  - b. Subject often omitted.
  - c. The subject is always 3<sup>rd</sup> person, as evident from the reflexive pronoun.
  - d. If the subject is overtly expressed, it is never a pronoun.
  - e. Negation always precedes the verb.
  - f. Typically directed towards children or pets.
- 

Table 4: Characteristics of the Child-directed Prescriptive Infinitive

## 4 Method and data collection

Choice of method should be motivated by the research question: what data will best give an answer to the research question at hand. All choices relevant for methodology need to be thoroughly justified and reported, to assure i) the method's reliability (so that the results are possible to replicate), ii) its aptness in comparative studies (to ascertain whether we can compare the findings with findings from other groups and others can make comparable studies (Finestack, Payesteh, Dishar, & Julien, 2014), and iii) its aptness in answering the research questions (to assure the validity of the study).

Here the use of the data is twofold, with one primary and one secondary motivation for the method. The primary motivation for the method is its application in the norming of the N-LARSP chart (Kristoffersen et al., forthcoming). The secondary motivation is the object of this thesis – investigating Root Infinitives in Norwegian child language. In the following sections I will present the methods we used to collect these data.

Before I present the method we employed, I will give a general review of typical methods for investigating child language and their general advantages and disadvantages in section 4.1. Throughout this chapter, the ability of the data to answer the research questions is heavily weighted. In section 4.3 and 4.4 I will present the design of the LARSP norming study, and the procedure employed in collecting, transcribing, and excerpting the data, and, in section 4.4.4, the coding procedure employed for this study. In section 4.5 I will mention the guidelines adopted regarding ethics and data storage. In section 4.6 I will discuss the reliability and validity of the study, given the methodology outlined here. Finally, in section 4.7, I will introduce the statistical measures that will be used on the result.

As the data underlying this thesis also underlies the study in (Kristoffersen et al., forthcoming) and (Løver, 2015), the methodology will be identical to the point of coding.

### 4.1 How to investigate child language

There are several ways to study child language, and which ways are preferable depend on what your object of study is. There is a primary distinction between testing language comprehension and language production and different methodologies within those groups.

There is reason to believe that children's comprehension surpasses their productive language, and that they even comprehend language before their first words (Karmiloff & Karmiloff-Smith, 2001, p. 31; Lust, 2006, p. 193). There exist several experimental paradigms for assessing both speech perception and language comprehension in pre-linguistic children. There are however reasons for not considering such approaches in this study: primarily because this thesis investigates a specific structure found in children's productive language, and secondarily because the data gathered constitutes norming data for the N-LARSP chart, which makes use of children's spontaneous speech. This will be elaborated below. Therefore I will only review tests of productive language in this section.

#### **4.1.1 Parent reporting**

Many of the first studies of child language were diary studies: reports from parents with (more or less) systematic records of the development of one child over a long period of time (cf. Karmiloff & Karmiloff-Smith, 2001, p. 18; Naigles, 2012, p. 241; Rowe, 2012, p. 193; Saxton, 2010, p. 18). Parental questionnaire studies are another type of parental reporting, where a set of parents report on the linguistic comprehension and/or production of their children. In parental reporting methods the linguistic complexity of each study will be limited by the metalinguistic competence of the parent(s), and highly so in parental questionnaire studies, where little or no pre-existing knowledge of linguistics can be expected.

The sporadic nature of many diary studies, along with the fact that the diary records are written in an everyday situation alongside all other tasks of daily life, makes the diary method highly selective (Tomasello & Stahl, 2004, p. 102).

Although the MacArthur Communicative Development Inventory (CDI) has been validated in a laboratory setting as being representative of the child's repertoire (Karmiloff & Karmiloff-Smith, 2001, p. 38), it mostly studies lexical acquisition, and asks very general questions of grammatical complexities. In a qualitative study of more complex syntactic structures, a larger number of instances in different contexts are preferred. Therefore parental questionnaire studies are less suited for our goal.



### 4.1.2 Elicited production

*Elicited production* is an experimental methodology where the subject is supplied with specific, thoroughly devised stimuli to *provoke* certain structures. One of the most famous elicited production studies is the *Wug*-study of Berko (1958), where the subjects (children from five and a half to seven years old) were presented with nonce words (i.e., words that don't actually exist in the language but follow its phonotactics), which the subjects therefore cannot possibly have learned. These nonce words were used to investigate the children's morphosyntactic abilities in number and tense inflection. The stimuli were given as questions or incomplete phrases, such as in (23), which the child answered through completing the stimulus sentence (the expected form in this case being *ricked*).

- (23) «This is a man who knows how to *rick*. He is *ricking*. He did the same thing yesterday. What did he do yesterday? Yesterday he \_\_\_\_» (Berko, 1958, p. 165)

Many syntactic structures are very sparse, bordering on non-existent, in the spontaneous output of children, because they demand very specific contexts. Elicited production tasks must be used to access such structures in child language, since they probably would not be found in studies monitoring spontaneous production. In such experiments, the subject is asked specific questions, often accompanying illustrations or puppets, in order to provoke very specific syntactic structures. An example from the seminal study of structure dependency of Crain (1991, p. 602) is given in (24). As one can imagine, the type of sentences elicited from the child in (24) demands a highly specific context, and is vanishingly rare in spontaneous speech:

- (24) Adult researcher: Ask Jabba if the man who is running is bald  
Expected child response: Is the man who is running \_\_ bald?

This kind of experiment is designed to tap as directly as possible onto linguistic competence, and to minimize the *performance noise*. Crain and Thornton (1998) argue that elicited production in many instances is superior to, e.g., spontaneous speech sampling, as this «eliminates many of the difficulties that arise in attempting to interpret a child's intended meaning, a frequent problem when examining transcripts of children's spontaneous speech» (Crain & Thornton, 1998, p. 141). As the experimental situation is controlled, experimental studies are easy to replicate, i.e., are very reliable, and are easy to compare cross-linguistically.

In an experimental setting, the number of variables that are measured has to be limited (Lieven & Behrens, 2012, p. 227). Prior to designing an elicited production task, one must have precise hypotheses about the structures one is studying and the contexts in which one expects them to appear. Another challenge with experimental studies in general, is the *ecological validity*, i.e. to what extent the result is generalizable to the population we investigate in a non-experimental setting, or if the variation found in the sample is just «newly provoked by exposing the aggregate [viz. the sample] to a probing instrument or test situation» (Brunswik, 1949, p. 177). As one can imagine, an experimental situation can often be alienating for the child, perhaps making the linguistic output unnatural. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that many elicited production experiments are not designed to test natural language use, as mentioned above, but rather wish to minimize it to access the underlying mechanisms.

In conducting any behavioural experiment, the experimenter is faced with the problems of the *demand characteristics* of the experimental situation. The demand characteristics are the cues of the hypothesis underlying the experiment and which are conceived by the subjects (Orne, 1962, p. 779). The subjects of an experiment are often well aware of their role, and generally try to behave like good subjects and see it as their role to confirm the hypothesis. This is a problem for the ecological validity of the study, as the subjects are not *neutrally* and *passively* responding to the stimulus. Because of this, experimenters have developed methods of concealing the aim of the experiment. We would also expect demand characteristics to be a smaller problem with children than with adults (but see the discussion at the end of the ensuing chapter).

### **4.1.3 Natural speech sampling**

The use of transcribed spontaneous speech data is widely applied in studies of language acquisition, and – as all other methods – has its advantages and disadvantages. Although there exist projects such as the Human Speechome project where the total audial and visual environment of a child is recorded 24 hours a day (Roy et al., 2006), most recorded collections of spontaneous speech need to be limited in some way for several reasons, the most prominent being the time-consuming activity of transcribing. This limitation makes natural speech sampling inadequate for studies of linguistic structures that appear sparsely in the language output, as discussed above (Rowe, 2012, p. 198). Thus, the absence of a structure in the transcription is not necessarily because the child not yet having acquired it.

Conversely, the presence of a complex structure should not in itself be taken as evidence of acquisition, as it could be (in part or as a whole) rote-learned (Eisenbeiss, 2010, p. 13; Lieven & Behrens, 2012, p. 227), unless any sign of productive use is found. No matter how natural the setting of the recording is, the resulting corpora will not be able to represent the child's linguistic competence, and I will argue that it is categorically so, due to the division between language competence and language performance (cf. section 1.6).

There is also a problem of interpretation. The controlled conditions of elicited production strongly limit the possibility of what the child intends to say. (Still, the responses need to be interpreted, both linguistically and theoretically). The utterances in natural speech sampling are more open for interpretation on behalf of the transcriber, especially due to the phonological distortions of the children (Gerken, 2000, p. 45; Lust, 2006, p. 132). As Ochs (1979) points out, we cannot consider the problems of selective observation or selective bias as ruled out with use of auditory or audio-visual recordings. They are merely postponed «until the moment at which the researcher sits down to transcribe the material» (p. 44).

Although the problems of validity associated with experimental settings are not present to the same degree in spontaneous speech, they are not entirely eliminated. The presence of a recording device, let alone a researcher, contributes to making the situation unfamiliar for the child (Tomasello & Stahl, 2004, p. 102), i.e., *the observer's paradox* (Labov, 1972, p. 209). As for the demand characteristics, this is present at least in the parents, who may encourage their children to perform as well as possible, and older children may have been made aware of the objective of the session by their parents, or infer it from the recording equipment. The unfamiliarity of the situation and the demand characteristics can either make the child more timid, speaking less than she normally would, or the child may act out some unnatural role.<sup>16</sup> Both circumstances weaken the validity of the data.

The impossibility of recreating the exact setting of the recording session poses a threat to the reliability of the study and its aptness for cross-linguistic and cross-population comparison.

Despite these methodological issues, sampling of spontaneous speech is a widely used method for studying language acquisition, and this is due to its not insignificant superiority to other methods. For example, one has the possibility of approaching the material

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<sup>16</sup> These are based on my own observations from the data collection.

inductively, or bottom-up, as well as testing specific hypotheses deductively, or top-down, whereas experimental methods are best suited for the latter. Also, as mentioned above, data from spontaneous speech corpora can be tested against more variables, and these tests can be done subsequently, after the material has been gathered, whereas in an experimental paradigm one would have to conduct another experiment if, in light of the gathered material one wanted to look at yet another variable. Since the recorded sound or video files presumably are stored, the data is also verifiable and available for others' close analysis, as opposed to diary or parental questionnaire studies. Lastly, natural speech corpora are the only way to study the learner's input (Eisenbeiss, 2010, p. 14).

For qualitative studies of the use and internal structure of linguistic structures in child language, corpora of actual utterances are by far the most preferable, since these are the only place where we can expect linguistic structures to appear in many different contexts and situations. This is especially the case when introspection (the investigator's own grammaticality judgments) is out of the question. Obtaining grammaticality judgments from young children are notoriously difficult as they have not acquired the necessary metalinguistic competence yet (Lust, 2006, pp. 130-131).

In sum, although natural speech sampling has its drawbacks, spontaneous speech sampling is the best tool available to answer many research questions, e.g., the norming data of the N-LARSP, which we turn to below.

#### **4.1.4 Group vs. case study**

Case studies, such as diary studies, and spontaneous speech studies with one or just a few subjects, have the advantage of being able to make in-depth qualitative investigations of certain phenomena, because one has the ability to investigate large amounts of data from the participant(s). Group studies do not have the same possibilities for in-depth qualitative investigations for practical reasons, since the amount of data quickly would be unmanageable. Group studies are therefore predominantly quantitative in nature. The results of group studies can, *qua* their large number of subjects, often be generalized to the population. The same is not necessarily true with case studies, since the findings can be results of idiosyncrasies in the few subjects (Bjerkas, 2000, pp. 56-58). Flyvbjerg (2006) however argues that results of case studies *can* be generalized, e.g., by *falsification* (as in Popper's (1959) *black swan* examples, where the observation of just one black swan

falsifies the hypothesis that all swans are white). As will become evident in the sections below, I have tried to bypass the caveats of case studies by employing a *multiple case* design, where I use 12 informants. This makes it possible to generalize the result somewhat, and also employ quantitative methods on the data to identify patterns and developmental trends.

## 4.2 LARSP

The LARSP Chart is an assessment tool for morphology and syntactic structures, specifically designed to assess children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI). The original LARSP Chart for English consists of seven age stages from 0;9 to 4;6 and beyond. Each stage has its own set of morphological forms and syntactic structures. The syntactic structures include constituents in clause structure and parts-of-speech in phrase structure. The morphological forms include inflectional endings and compounding. The Chart is a norm or a baseline for typical language development. The placement of each instance of a morphological form or a syntactic structure into a stage is based on the order of acquisition in typical language development. Thereby, the chart tells us when we would expect each syntactic structure or morphological form to emerge, at least in a comparable amount and type of data to the clinical situation in which it is being used. The typical clinical situation with the LARSP chart is defined as 30 minutes in Crystal et al. (1976). Importantly for this discussion, LARSP taps on and compares (30 minutes of) language *performances*, and not linguistic *competences*. A preliminary version of the N-LARSP chart was constructed using corpus data of child Norwegian (see Kristoffersen et al. (forthcoming) for an overview over the different corpora and the exact number of files and utterances). The preliminary chart (provided by Ingeborg Ribu) is given in Appendix 2.

The analysis in this thesis is based on the norming data for the N-LARSP chart. In the following section I will account for the methods we used in collecting these data, and the considerations underlying the different choices.

## 4.3 Design

We considered natural speech sampling as the most adequate method for norming the N-LARSP chart, and the rationale is as follows. The N-LARSP chart is meant as a baseline for language production and is meant to be used for screening children with possible speech

problems, based on a clinical session from which spontaneous speech has been recorded and transcribed. As mentioned above, the clinical session is defined as 30 minutes by Crystal et al. (1976), with interaction between the therapist and the patient.<sup>17</sup> Given the nature of spontaneous speech recording, using parent reporting, covering the total linguistic abilities of the child, or elicited production (perhaps on each structure in the N-LARSP chart), could give a too exhaustive picture of the child's linguistic abilities to be comparable to the clinical situation outlined above.

The number, length and density of recordings must be considered in light of each study (Rowe, 2012, p. 199). For the norming data of the N-LARSP chart, we adopted the design of the study norming the Dutch version of LARSP, GRAMAT (Bol, 2012; Bol & Kuiken, 1980, 1988, 1990) with some modifications. In the N-LARSP norming data we recorded two boys and two girls in each of the seven age stages. We did two recording sessions for each child so each would be present in two consecutive stages, with the exception of four in the first and the last stage respectively. These had no successive or preceding stage to age into or out of. This gave us eight recordings in each stage, yielding altogether 56 recordings (see table 5). This design has the advantage of being both cross-sectional and longitudinal, but the disadvantage of having a very sparse sampling (~6 months). The longitudinal design has the benefit of i) evening out possible developmental discontinuities which otherwise could have appeared in a pure cross-sectional study as an effect of individual differences in language development among the subjects, and ii) making us able to investigate the development of certain features on the individual level at two different points in time. The sparse sampling makes it difficult to say anything about the development of different structures, but lets us keep the workload manageable while retaining the high number of informants.

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<sup>17</sup> Because of the therapist-patient interaction and presence of recoding equipment in the clinical situation, one could actually argue that the presence of a researcher and recording equipment in the collection of the norming data actually bolsters its ecological validity rather than decreasing it, albeit only for this specific use of it.

Stage (age)	I (1;0–1;6)		II (1;6–2;0)		III (2;0–2;6)		IV (2;6–3;0)		V (2;6–3;0)		VI (3;6–4;6)		VII (4;6–5;6)	
sex	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1 <sup>st</sup> session	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2 <sup>nd</sup> session	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Table 5: Recording scheme, N-LARSP (N=32)

For the present research question and analysis however, the design outlined above is possibly less ideal. In an exploration of Root Infinitives across different contexts, and a partly controlled eliciting situation, eliciting certain discourse contexts (past, present, conditional, etc.) would probably have yielded the ideal basis for the analysis. Such an approach would however have weakened the comparability of my results and conclusions, as most studies in the field are based on spontaneous speech sampling.

Other available corpora of child language, such as the ones found in the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) project (cf. MacWhinney, 1991), often have denser samples of fewer children. In the design outlined above, there is a sparse sampling (only one or two samples per child) over a large amount of children (32, of which 12 make part of this study). In this lies the risk that a specific linguistic structure seemingly dependent on the discourse context is in fact dependent on the developmental stage of the child, but this can be avoided by showing the same tendencies across several subjects, which I have the possibility of, given the size of the group.

## 4.4 The procedure

In their large meta-study of reliability in journal papers on language acquisition, Finestack et al. (2014) proposed a checklist of information to report on the procedures in such studies. This checklist consists of **sampling context**, **sample length**, **transcription procedures**, **transcription reliability**, **coding procedures**, and **coding reliability**. In the following sections I will report on all these points (and their sub-points, see Finestack et al. (2014, p. 2278)), though under different headings.

### 4.4.1 The sample

We gathered informants from the social network of the N-LARSP research committee, and delivered information letters to local day cares. Meta-information was gathered with an electronic form through a service provided by the University of Oslo (Appendix 1).

We did not have enough volunteers to weigh the subjects against the parents' socioeconomic status. There are some syntactic dialectal differences in Norwegian. In order to make the group dialectally uniform, we required that the informants live and have grown up in the South-Eastern part of Norway, in the area around Oslo, i.e. be speakers of the dialect of this area. We did not see it as feasible to impose the same requirement on the parents, as it would have made the requirements too specific, with the possible result of not having enough volunteers. We nevertheless made dialects of the parents a variable in the questionnaire. We divided the dialectal variety into six main groups: southern («sørlandsk»), western («vestlandsk»), middle («midtnorsk»), north («nordlandsk»), east («østlandsk»), and other («annet») (see Appendix 3). We included the «other» dialect as a possibility for parents who felt a strong dialectal identity to a mixed dialect, or for other reasons defined their Norwegian outside of the five geographical categories. (See Kristoffersen et al. (forthcoming) for information on the other informants of the N-LARSP study)

As the LARSP chart is to be applied as a screening tool, we wanted to exclude children with possible pathological speech problems from the study.<sup>18</sup> Prematurely born children were excluded for the same reason. We also chose to exclude children from multilingual homes, primarily for fear of possible differences between multilingual and monolingual language acquisition, and secondarily because we wanted to be able to use the LARSP chart for testing multilingual/monolingual differences.<sup>19</sup> These criteria were listed in the information/invitation letter to the parents (see Appendix 4).

#### **4.4.2 Data collection**

The data were collected in a play setting, with at least one investigator, often with one or two of the caretakers present. To encourage the child to speak, we had a selection of toys (vehicles and animals) for all the children. For the older children (III – VII), we also brought

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<sup>18</sup> The subjects of the study were presumed to be typically developing, but many of the children are too young for SLI to be visible.

<sup>19</sup> This being said, it would have been extremely difficult – if not even impossible – to find enough children in the Oslo area that had not at all been exposed to foreign languages, as most daycares have immigrants in the staff or immigrant children among the attendees.



an adapted version of the Norwegian folk tale *De tre bukkene bruse* ('Three billy goats gruff', collected by Asbjørnsen and Moe (1843/1844)), which we encouraged the child to recount, either by their own recollection using the pictures, or after the investigator or a parent had read it aloud to them. The oldest children (VI – VII) were also encouraged to give a narrative from their own life (e.g., Christmas eve, what did you do in day-care that specific day, etc.), as a means of eliciting typical narrative data. Although the children were encouraged to engage in these specific activities, we always let the playing happen on their premises, for example if they didn't want to read at all, or wanted to read another book. Each session lasted not much longer than an hour. This design is comparable to that of the Jin, Oh, and Razak (2012, p. 221) adaptation of LARSP to Mandarin Chinese.

The sessions were recorded using a Zoom h2<sup>®</sup> or Zoom h2n<sup>®</sup> *Handy Recorder*, using the two built-in microphones, giving a surround recording (360°) in two tracks (stereo), with sound quality no lower than MP3 224 kb/s.

#### **4.4.3 Transcription**

The level of detail of the transcription is dependent on the research question (Rowe, 2012, p. 202), so a transcription that serves your purpose is not necessarily an information-packed transcript: «A more useful transcript is a more selective one» (Ochs, 1979, p. 44).

Transcription is, beyond doubt, the most time-consuming part of the data collection, and the more detailed and phonetically correct the transcript, the more time-consuming the transcription process. Therefore we didn't want to transcribe more precisely than we needed. We considered an orthographic transcription to be sufficiently precise for the N-LARSP chart, as it mainly consists of syntactic structures, and some morphological, quite salient, forms. I transcribed one half of the recordings, the other master student on the project (M. Aa. Løver) transcribed the other. We used the transcription software ELAN (Brugman & Russel, 2004; Crasborn & Sloetjes, 2008; Lausberg & Sloetjes, 2009; Sloetjes & Wittenburg, 2008; Wittenburg, Brugman, Russel, Klassmann, & Sloetjes, 2006). Utterances were segmented into Minimal Terminable Units (T-Units) (Hunt, 1965, 1970). This is also the utterance definition used in Bol and Kuiken (1988). A T-Unit is defined as «one main clause plus any subordinate clause or nonclausal structure that is attached to or embedded in it» (Hunt, 1970, p. 4), or, in written language, the «shortest units which it is grammatically allowable to punctuate as sentences» (Hunt, 1970, p. 4). This means that coordinated matrix

clauses were segmented into two (or more) t-units. This only occurred in the files from the older children.

As the T-Unit was initially developed for written language, how to treat typical speech language phenomena, such as sentence ellipsis, false starts, and discourse markers needed to be additionally specified. Bol and Kuiken (1988) additionally used pauses and intonation contours in determining utterance borders.<sup>20</sup> This generally did not pose a large problem, but we found the procedure in Young (1995, p. 38) to be feasible, in excluding «backchannel cues such as *mhm* and *yeah*, and discourse boundary markers such as *okay*», integrating false starts into the following T-unit and counting elliptical constructions as T-units. All child utterances that were imitations of an adult were coded as echoes, and were not considered in the analysis.

We based the codes for pauses, unintelligible utterances, etc. on the transcription-manual of the LIA project (Hagen, Håberg, Olsen, & Søfteland, 2014), but revised it somewhat to accommodate some peculiarities of child language.<sup>21</sup>

As Ochs (1979) points out, the transcription is the part of the procedure which is most sensitive to problems of reliability, and where the problem of *selective bias* emerges, which is why thorough reporting of the procedures is important. Specifically challenging in this regard, and of importance for this thesis, is how to transcribe the verb morphology. As mentioned in chapter 3.1, the only difference between the present and infinitive forms in many verbs in South-Eastern Norwegian, is an *-r* [r]. Typically, this is also one of the phonemes children with this dialect acquire last, using instead other intermediate forms, acoustically resembling the target *r*, such as [ð], [l] or [j] (Bjerkan, 2005, p. 217). All of these produce a salient narrowing of the preceding vowel. In many contexts, the *r* in the target language is marked only by partial progressive assimilation, resulting in retroflexion, such that /r/ + /l/ ⇒ [l̠], /r/ + /s/ ⇒ [s̠], /r/ + /t/ ⇒ [t̠], /r/ + /d/ ⇒ [d̠], and /r/ + /n/ ⇒ [n̠] (cf. e.g., Bjerkan, 2005, p. 215). In other contexts where the *r* precedes a consonant that cannot be easily retroflexed, for example labials [p b f v], velars [k g ɕ], and palatals [ʃ], the *r* can be

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<sup>20</sup> «Bij het vaststellen van de uitingsgrens speelt het intonatiepatroon eveneens een rol: bij bevestigingen geeft een dalende intonatiecontour aan het eind van een uiting aan dat de uiting gerealiseerd is. Eveneens wordt gelet på de duur van de pauze tussen twee verschillende uitingen.» (Bol & Kuiken, 1988, p. 23)

<sup>21</sup> The rationale for using the transcription manual of the LIA-project was that the LIA-project is hosted by the digital humanities section in our department and it seemed fruitful in plans of digitalizing the corpus and making it electronically searchable to use their framework.

In addition, as mentioned in chapter 3.1, many verbs have an accent tone difference between the present and infinitive forms. In section 3.1 I called those verbs T1 verbs, as opposed to T2 verbs, which do not have this distinction. (The T1/T2-distribution of the verbs in the data material is given in Appendix 1.) This accent tone difference makes it possible to distinguish between an infinitive and a present tense form in T1 verbs, even when an inflectional –r is not present. However, in many instances, e.g., when followed by a verb particle, the present tense form of the T1 verb can get accent tone 2, viz. behave like a T2 verb, depending on which syllables are stressed (compare (25b) and (25c)(Haugen, 1967, p. 198). When this occurs, it is impossible to discern the present tense form from the infinitive (compare (25b) and (25d)).

- I personally went through all the relevant files and marked the relevant verbs for accent tone 1 and 2 where they were discernable, and where in doubt (as I am not myself a native speaker of the Oslo dialect), I opened the relevant sections in *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink, 2014) and inspected the pitch pattern of the first syllable.

Romøren (2011) found that typically developing children between 29 and 36 months of age produced words with target accent in 88,2% to 98% (with a mean of 93,7 and a standard deviation of 3,47<sup>22</sup>), in an elicited production task. For Swedish, Hellquist and Olsson (1981) (cited in Plunkett and Strömquist (1990)), found, also using an elicited production task with only words with a post-stress syllable, that children in aged 2–5 tend to overgeneralize accent 2 (6,1 % of the cases) more than accent 1 (2,4 % of the cases). Kadin and Engström (2007) found the same tendency towards accent 2 in Swedish in 18 and 24 month olds, using spontaneous speech, and concluded «that most Swedish children at 24 months of age have established a productive command of the word accent contrast» (p. 70). Since there is a difference in the accents between Swedish and Norwegian (as there is between different Norwegian dialects), we cannot conclude that the same overgeneralization pattern also holds for Norwegian, but we can at least suppose that children of the age in this study produce the appropriate word accents quite consistently.

For the transcription for norming of the N-LARSP chart, consult Kristoffersen et al. (forthcoming).

For this study, different amounts of data were used for each child. As this is a qualitative study of the Root Infinitive, I do not regard this as methodologically problematic. For the exact amount of coded material used for each child, cf. section 4.4.4 and 5.3.

#### **4.4.4 Coding**

(For the coding of the data for norming of the N-LARSP chart, see Kristoffersen et al. (forthcoming).)

In order to validate the result, I employed strict coding criteria in order to excerpt the utterances with unambiguous finiteness. The coding criteria are given in table 6.

Some verbs were morphologically saliently marked for finiteness in the data. These include i) the strong and suppletive verbs, where the stem of the verb differs between the infinitive and the other forms (*a.* in table 6, cf. table 3 chapter 3.1), ii) past tense verbs or past of all verb classes except the large weak verb class (*b.* in table 6, cf. table 3 chapter 3.1). The past tense verbs and past participles verbs of the large weak class are homophonous, and are

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<sup>22</sup> These are my own calculations based on the data given in Romøren (2011, p. 60)

therefore ambiguous. iii) present tense verbs where there was an (audible) *r*-like phoneme word-finally (c. in table 6). Of the three criteria *a.-c.* in table 6, infinitives can only be excerpted based on criterion *a.* As this would render too few unambiguous utterances with Root Infinitives, a fourth criterion, *d.*, was employed. In chapter 3.1 I mentioned that in some verbs the accent tone differs between the infinitive and the present tense (cf. section 4.4.3). I called this group of verbs T1. In utterances with verbs lacking a word-final *r*-like phoneme, but where the verb was a T1, the accent tone was used as a coding criterion.

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a.	Where the stem of the verb differs (e.g., <i>vite</i> – <i>vet</i> ‘know – knows’)
b.	Past tense verbs and past participles of the small weak class
c.	Verbs pronounced with an <i>r</i> -like phoneme word finally
d.	T1-verbs

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Table 6: The coding criteria

Employing these coding criteria gave 1181 unambiguous utterances with verbs (including repetitions, cf. below) and 835 ambiguous utterances with verbs. The number of ambiguous and unambiguous utterances with verbs for each child is given in Appendix 7, and all the ambiguous utterances are listed in Appendix 8.

To make sure that the linguistic knowledge of the child was not overrepresented, repetitions of the same utterance within 30 seconds were marked as repetitions, and were not counted in the results. Utterances that only differed with a backchannel cues, such as *ja* ‘yes’, (see section 4.4.3) were also counted as repetitions.

Target-like ellipses were coded as such and not counted in the Root Infinitive and null subject results. Instances where there was an unintelligible or poorly pronounced verb or clause (marked §u or +u in the transcript) which could have had impact on the interpretation and the analysis, were also counted as ambiguous. This was done in order to not count clauses with an unintelligible auxiliary or subject as Root Infinitives or null subject clauses.

Imperatives were not counted in the analysis, since I wanted to count null subject clauses, and imperatives predominantly do not have overt subjects. In addition, some scholars have argued that imperatives are not finite (see Platzack & Rosengren, 1997).

## 4.5 Ethics and data storage

We recorded and stored all data as specified in the approved application to Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste ('Norwegian Social Science Data Services', NSD). We asked the parents of every participating child to sign a consent form (Appendix 5). We stored and treated (transcribed, coded etc.) the sound files and other sensitive information on a password-protected server at the University of Oslo. We will delete the link between the parents' names and the informant codes and nicknames within the end of the project (officially December 2016) along with all written material that can connect the participants to the study. We have anonymized all the children's names by giving them nicknames, and censored all sensitive information in the files.

## 4.6 Reliability and validity

Throughout this chapter, I have accounted for the possible pitfalls for the reliability of this study, and I will conclude and elaborate here. The reliability of a study is the degree to which one by using the same methods can obtain the same results. The largest pitfalls for reliability in a study of this kind are i) the data collection, ii) the transcription, and iii) the coding. As for the data collection, I have thoroughly accounted for the procedure in chapter 4.4.2. A possible challenge arises in the case where we were not able to persuade the subjects into reading *The Billy Goats Gruff* or giving a narrative. I nevertheless do not consider this a large problem, as this study is qualitative, and while the differences in extra-linguistic context can have a large effect on the quantitative distribution, my study is not very sensitive to quantitative effects. Additionally, the objects under study – verb phrases – are not very context sensitive, but should occur across the board. Another possible pitfall for reliability is the presence of the researcher, (unconsciously) influencing the child's output to his or her advantage. Given that this is a qualitative study, it is hard to imagine how I (or the other researcher) could have influenced the child into producing Root Infinitives and/or finite verbs, *anterior* to having studied them and their distribution in Norwegian, adding to the argument that this is still disputed for other languages.

The procedures for transcription were given in 4.4.3. We controlled the reliability of the transcription by swapping a section of it (174 utterances from Jan (3;03.11)). This gave a coefficient of 95%. We considered this satisfactory.

The procedures for coding were given in 4.4.4. Most of the procedure consisted of categorizing different utterances by discrete criteria (finite–non-finite, negated–non-negated, etc.) based on the transcription.

Given the lack of extra-linguistic context in the transcription, I had to rely on adjacent utterances, from children or adults, and my own interpretation. This is the method used (at least) in Ingram and Thompson (1996) and Josefsson (2002), and as the last author notes:

*However, to use a native speaker's intuition in the analysis is a commonly accepted method within the generative research program, and it is, I believe, the only method known hitherto to use to find out whether or not an utterance conforms to the adult grammar. (p. 277)*

In addition, the use of *any* corpora would need interpretation, in the same way as any linguistic data do. Text corpora must be interpreted by researchers that have a certain knowledge of the language(s) in question. There is always a risk that the linguistic knowledge and theoretical prejudices of the researcher can influence the coding procedure, no matter how accurately and comprehensively the corpus has been transcribed.

I have accounted for the validity of this study throughout this chapter. The validity is the degree to which the study measures what it sets out to measure. The largest pitfall regarding the validity of the study, which hasn't yet been discussed, is the possible selection bias of the sample (see 4.4.1), which may be skewed toward a group with high socio-economical status, as these are the most liable to volunteer to scientific studies (Quené, 2010, p. 273). However, as far as I am informed, socio-economic differences lie along the lines of acquisition rate and quantity of input and not the grammar per se, so this does not pose a problem for this study.

## 4.7 Statistical methods

In the following chapter, I will use quantitative measures to discuss the data. On the discussion of the development of Root Infinitives from one stage to the next, I measure the effect size in the children I have longitudinal data on. Cohen's *d*, which I am using, is one of

the most common ways of measuring effect size (Field, Miles, & Field, 2012). The formula for Cohen's  $d$  is as follows (Cohen, 1992).

Let  $d$  be effect size,  $\sigma$  be (pooled) standard deviation, and  $mean_{1st}$  and  $mean_{2nd}$  are the mean values of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> recordings respectively.

$$d = \frac{mean_{1st} - mean_{2nd}}{\sigma}$$

Pooled standard deviation (Cohen, 1988, p. 44) is equated as follows, where  $\sigma_{1st}$  and  $\sigma_{2nd}$  are the standard deviations of the first and the second recordings respectively.

$$\sigma_{pooled} = \sqrt{\frac{\sigma_{1st}^2 + \sigma_{2nd}^2}{2}}$$

According to Cohen (1992), «small, medium, and large [effect sizes] are respectively .10, .30, and .50» (p. 156), i.e., everything higher than 0.50 is a large effect size.

I also use the Fisher's and Pearson's chi-square test. These tests measure the probability that distribution of numbers in a matrix is random. If the probability for the distribution being random is less than a 20<sup>th</sup> part ( $p < 0.05$ ), the result is considered significant. In addition, I use Spearman's rank correlation, which measures whether there is a correlation between two sets of data. This test gives a coefficient ( $\rho$ ) between  $-1.0$  to  $+1.0$ , where negative and positive numbers are negative and positive correlation, and everything above 0.5 (or below -0.5) is considered a strong correlation. The significance of the result is dependent on the amount of data (Rowntree, 1981, pp. 163-166).



## 5 Results

In this chapter I will first present the results and investigate whether there is a Root Infinitive stage in Norwegian. As noted in section 1.2, there are especially five characteristics of Root Infinitives that have been reported in the literature, recapped here as table 7. These characteristics need to be addressed before we can proceed with the analysis.

- 
- |    |  |
|----|--|
| a. | There are cross-linguistic differences in the amount of Root Infinitives: specifically in null subject languages Root Infinitives seem to be vanishingly rare. |
| b. | The relative placement of the verb and clausal adverbials in Root Infinitives is adult-like  |
| c. | Root Infinitives seem to be incompatible with non-subject topicalization and/or <i>wh</i> -questions in many languages.  |
| d. | There seem to be a relation between Root Infinitives and non target null subjects in child language.   |
| e. | Root Infinitives are predominantly used with a modal interpretation, except in English   |
- 

Table 7: Characteristic of the Root Infinitive (repeated)

In chapter 1.4 and 3.2 we saw also in that there are Root Infinitives in the adult language as well, in the form of Prescriptive or Jussive Infinitives. Where these constructions appear in the child data, they ought to be considered separately, since they cannot be counted as non-target-like.

In this chapter I will first look at Prescriptive Infinitives in our child data. After that, I will discuss the remaining Root Infinitives in relation to the five different characteristics in table 7. I will then review the different lines of explanations for the Root Infinitive, before I finally present my own analysis, and how that explains the different characteristics in table 7.

### 5.1 Prescriptive infinitives

In chapter 3.2 the characteristics of the Prescriptive Infinitive, as given in Johannessen (submitted), was given in table 4, repeated here as table 8.

- 
- a. Prescriptive (imperative) force.
  - b. Subject often omitted.
  - c. The subject is always 3<sup>rd</sup> person, as evident from the reflexive pronoun.
  - d. If the subject is overtly expressed, it is never a pronoun.
  - e. Negation always precedes the verb.
  - f. Typically directed towards children or pets.
- 

Table 8: Characteristics of the Child-directed Prescriptive Infinitive (repeated)

Since these constructions, where they appear in the child data, cannot be counted as non-target-like, all utterances matching these criteria were not counted in the results given below. In total, there were 67 utterances matching these criteria in the files, with instances ranging from files from the youngest to the second oldest informant (Ingrid 2, 2;10.28). Some examples are given in (26). (Here an example from the first file of Lucas is included for illustration.)

(26)	a.	hjelpe			Lucas 1 (1;09.23)
		help.INF			
	b.	ikke lese	denne	lese denne	Benedikte (2;01;06)
		not read.INF	this-one	read.inf this-one	
	c.	pappa lese	den		Magnus 1 (2;03.10)
		daddy read.INF	that-one		
	d.	sitte	rett		Ingrid 2 (2;10.28)
		sit.INF	upright (directed towards teddy bear)		

Furthermore, I found no instances of Root Infinitives with an imperative force that were not in compliance with the characteristics in table 8, viz. no instances of post-verbal negation or 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun. This can indicate that at an early age, the children have acquired this construction and that they use it productively. Moreover, the older children often direct the Prescriptive Infinitives towards their dolls and toys, as seen in (26b), which can indicate that they start realizing the social component of the (Child-directed) Prescriptive Infinitives (table 8f). All utterances that coincided with criteria a-e in table 8, are given in Appendix 9.

## 5.2 Root Participles

There were ten unambiguous Root Participles in the data, a meagre number compared to the amount of Root Infinitives, which will be discussed in the next section. An exhaustive list is

given in Appendix 10. Root participles will not be discussed further in this thesis except for the example given here for reference.

ikke	sett	det	Kari (2;02.07)
not	seen.PT.PART	it	

## 5.3 Root Infinitives

The number of Root Infinitive clauses and finite clauses in all the files under investigation is given in table 9. The files are listed according to the child's age at each recording. Column *b* shows the portion of Root Infinitives in relation to the total unambiguous utterances, and column *a* shows the percentage of Root Infinitives.

Note that both imperatives and Prescriptive Infinitives are excluded from these data. In the first file of Emil (Emil 1, 2;03.29), his control of the tone accents was deemed too poor for this to be used as a marker in the coding procedure. Therefore, the results of Emil 1 have been excluded from the equation of the total, the mean and the standard deviation.

All unambiguous finite utterances are given in Appendix 11, and all unambiguous Root Infinitives are given in Appendix 12.

		<i>a.</i> <i>Percentage of RIs</i>	<i>b.</i> <i>RIs/total</i>
STAGE III	Benedikte (2;01.06)	65.63%	42/64
	Kari (2;02.07)	20.83%	5/24
	Magnus 1 (2;03.10)	27.78%	10/36
	Emil 1 (2;03.29)	0.00%	0/138
	Anne 1 (2;04.02)	4.76%	5/105
	Lucas 2 (2;04.02)	15.63%	10/64
	Ingrid 1 (2;04.28)	20.41%	10/49
	William (2;05.22)	30.77%	16/52
Total (excl. Emil 1)		24.87%	98/394
<b>Mean (excl. Emil 1)</b>		<b>26.54%</b>	
<b>Standard deviation</b>		<b>19.19%</b>	
STAGE IV	Oskar (2;06.04)	5.26%	3/57
	Markus (2;08.06)	0.00%	0/85
	Linnea (2;09.15)	1.59%	1/63
	Magnus 2 (2;09.22)	2.30%	2/87
	Sofie (2;09.28)	0.00%	0/45
	Emil 2 (2;10;02)	2.94%	2/68
	Ingrid 2 (2;10;28)	4.55%	10/220
	Anne 2 (2;11.17)	0.00%	0/61
Total		2.62%	18/686
<b>Mean</b>		<b>2.08%</b>	
<b>Standard deviation</b>		<b>2.08%</b>	

Table 9: Root Infinitives in the data

Noting the large individual variation, as evident both from the specific percentages, and the standard deviations, we see from the mean percentage that the amount of Root Infinitives is relatively high (26.54%) in stage III, and then plummets down to 2.08% in stage IV.

Concentrating on stage III, if we compare this with the numbers reported in different studies for different languages given in table 10, we see that the data from this study place themselves somewhere between Swedish, and French, and German, bearing in mind the possibility of slightly different designs in the studies (although all are natural speech sampling) and different coding challenges for each languages. We should also bear in mind that Prescriptive Infinitives, to the extent that they exist in the languages, are not excluded in other studies.

	Spanish	Italian	Brazilian Portuguese	Swedish	French	German	Flemish	Dutch	English
percentage	1% <sup>a</sup>	5% <sup>b</sup>	5% <sup>c</sup>	21% <sup>d</sup>	26% <sup>e</sup>	34% <sup>f</sup>	52% <sup>h</sup>	64% <sup>i</sup>	64% <sup>j</sup>
age span	1;09– 2;06	1;09– 2;07	2;02	1;10– 2;05	2;01– 2;06	1;09– 2;08	1;11	2;01– 2;06	1;06– 2;03
percentage		0% <sup>b</sup>			19% <sup>c</sup>	22% <sup>g</sup>		23% <sup>i</sup>	68% <sup>j</sup>
age span		1;10– 2;06			2;01	2;01		2;07– 3;0	2;03– 3;0

Table 10: Percentage of Root Infinitives in different languages (repeated)

a: adapted from Torrens (1995, p. 466) (Castilian and Catalan); b: adapted from Guasti (1993/1994, p. 6); c: Kupisch and Rinke (2007, p. 103); d: Josefsson (2002, p. 283); e: Pierce (1989); f: adapted from Phillips (2010), citing Behrens (1993); g: adapted from Poeppel and Wexler (1993, p. 6); h: adapted from Phillips (2010), citing Krämer (1993); i: Wexler et al. (2004, p. 172); j: adapted from Phillips (1996).

### 5.3.1 The decline of Root Infinitives and some notes on the LARSP-chart.

From table 9, it seems that the frequency of Root Infinitives declines and the construction disappears during stage IV. A Pearson's chi squared test showed a highly significant difference between the rate of Root Infinitives in stage III and stage IV ( $\chi^2 = 447.15$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).<sup>23</sup> To exclude the possibility that the difference between stage III and stage IV is due to individual differences, the effect sizes for the three informants with longitudinal data, Magnus, Anne, and Ingrid (Emil still excluded), were measured using Cohen's  $d$  (see chapter 4.7). A very strong effect size was found ( $d = 1.82$ ).

<sup>23</sup> The Pearson's chi squared test takes as an assumption that the observations are independent (Field et al., 2012). Therefore, samples were excluded such that no one child is in both groups, but still yielding an equal number of boys and girls. This gives two alternatives, since we cannot use Emil 1 anyway. Either Anne 1 and Ingrid 2, or Ingrid 1 and Ingrid 2 are excluded. This was done randomly for the numbers given above. For reference: the other alternative was equally significant ( $\chi^2 = 89.39$ ,  $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ ).

Based on these results we can assume that the Optional Infinitive stage lasts at most through stage IV (2;6–3;0) in the LARSP-chart, and that we would not expect to find any Root Infinitives in stage V (3;0–3;6). This information could be useful in studies into language pathology and in diagnostics (cf. 6.6).

### **5.3.2 Finiteness and null subjects**

As mentioned in chapter 1.2.3, the rate of null subjects is cross-linguistically found to be higher in infinitives than in finite clauses (so-called «Root Null Subjects», Guasti, 2002, pp. 163-164). In table 11 the distribution of null subjects is given for all the files in our data. As mentioned in the coding procedure in chapter 4.4.4, all target-like elliptical structures were marked as such, and are excluded from the data given here.

		FINITE CLAUSES		ROOT INFINITIVES	
		<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>d.</i>
		<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Null</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Null</i>
		<i>of null</i>	<i>subjects/</i>	<i>of null</i>	<i>subjects/</i>
		<i>subjects</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>subjects</i>	<i>total</i>
STAGE III	Benedikte (2;01.06)	50.0%	11/22	69.5%	25/42
	Kari (2;02.07)	36.8%	7/19	20.0%	1/5
	Magnus 1 (2;03.10)	42.3%	11/26	50.0%	5/10
	Emil 1 (2;03.29)	3.0%	4 /138		0/0
	Anne 1 (2;04.02)	6.0%	6/100	40.0%	2/5
	Lucas 2 (2;04.02)	31.5%	17/54	20.0%	2/10
	Ingrid 1(2;04.28)	23.1%	9/39	50.0%	5/10
	William (2;05.22)	25.0%	9/36	56.3%	9/16
Total (excl. Emil 1)		23.65%	70/296	50.0%	49/98
<b>Mean (excl. Emil 1)</b>		<b>30.7%</b>		<b>42.25%</b>	
<b>Standard deviation</b>		<b>14.4%</b>		<b>16.38%</b>	
STAGE IV	Oskar (2;06.04)	11.1%	6/54	33.3%	1/3
	Markus (2;08.06)		0/85		0/0
	Linnea (2;09.15)	4.8%	3/62		0/1
	Magnus 2 (2;09.22)	1.2%	1/85		0/3
	Sofie (2;09.28)	8.9%	4/45		0/0
	Emil 2 (2;10;02)	3.0%	2/66	50.0%	1/2
	Ingrid 2 (2;10;28)	4.3%	9/210	30.0%	3/10
	Anne 2 (2;11.17)	1.6%	1/61		0/0
Total		3.9%	26/668	27.8%	5/18
<b>Mean</b>		<b>4.4%</b>		<b>22.67%</b>	
<b>Standard deviation</b>		<b>3.9%</b>		<b>22.04%</b>	

Table 11: Null subjects in the data

As expected we find null subjects in both contexts. Some examples are given in (27).

(27)	a.	Benedikte:	bilen er borte the-car is gone	Benedikte (2;1.06)
			gjemmer seg hides REFL '(it's) hiding'	
		target:	den gjemmer seg it.M hides REFL	
	b.	Mother:	nei det er ikke sjiraff det 'no, that's not a giraffe'	Kari (2;2.07)
		Kari:	er skilpadda is the-turtle '(that's) the turtle'	
		target:	Det er skilpadda it is turtle-the	
	c.	Benedikte	ikke sitte denne not sit.INF this	Benedikte (2;1.06)
			sitte her sit.INF here	
	d.	William	være her be.INF here	William (2;5.22)
			den være her It.M be here	

Regarding stage III, where the children do produce a certain amount of Root Infinitives and null subject clauses, we also see that there are individual differences between the children. Although the cross-linguistic tendency that there be a larger percentage of null subject clauses in Root Infinitives is borne out for most of the children in stage III, there are two children that do not show this pattern: Kari and Lucas. This is probably due to the small sample size. Kari is the informant with the fewest unambiguous utterances (N=24), and Lucas played a game where he screamed *der brenner* ‘there.LOC burns’ throughout the recordings. Although many of these utterances from Lucas were excluded as self-echoes according to the coding procedures, many did not. This means that finite clauses without overt subjects are overrepresented in the file. Despite these two anomalies, a Pearson’s chi-squared test on the collapsed data from stage III did show a highly significant difference between the amount of null subjects in Root Infinitives and finite clauses ( $\chi^2 = 23.018, p < 0.001$ ). We must therefore conclude that the connection holds for Norwegian as well.



### 5.3.3 Finiteness and negation

(28)	a.	ikke not	sitte sit.INF	denne this		Benedikte (2;1.06)
			sitte sit.INF	her here		
	b.	Pus Puss	ikke not	spise eat.INF	meg me	Benedikte (2;01.06)
	c.	den ## It	der there	passer fit.PRES	ikke der not there	Lucas (2;04.02)

	Finite verb	Root Infinitive
V-neg	88	0
neg-V	4	6

This, however, is an overall small sample. All but one of the infinitive examples stem from one informant, Benedikte, who has no examples of negation in her finite clauses. However, the results do not go against the reports from similar languages where the difference has

been reported (e.g., Jonas, 1995, p. 271; Plunkett & Strömquist, 1990, pp. 50–51; Santelmann, 1995, p. 208; Waldmann, 2008, p. 146; Westergaard, 2009, p. 114). It would be surprising if our data were to pattern differently from Swedish, Faroese and Northern Norwegian.

On a Fisher squared test of significance, this pattern showed high significance ( $p < 0.001$ ). One might argue that this is due to the high percentage of finite verbs matching the V-neg pattern from the older children who do not have Root Infinitives to a large extent, biasing the data, but a Fisher squared test of the relative verb-negation-placement in stage III only (see 0) also yielded high significance ( $p < 0.001$ ). We must therefore conclude that this pattern also holds for (South-Eastern) Norwegian.

I take these data to indicate that finiteness *does* have a syntactic reality in the Root Infinitive stage (*pace* Platzack, 1990, cf. section 6.1 below), and, furthermore that the finite verb in finite clauses has moved out of the vP to some higher functional projection (T or C), and that then non-finite verb of Root Infinitives is left in the vP, as given in (29) (with irrelevant details omitted). (cf. section 2.1.5.)

- (29) b. [XP pus [NegP ikke [vP spise meg ]]]  
 c. (den der) [XP passer<sub>i</sub> [NegP ikke [vP *t<sub>i</sub>* der ]]]

### 5.3.4 Topicalization and *wh*-questions

As discussed in chapter 1.2.4, topicalizations and *wh*-questions seem to be incompatible with Root Infinitives. Such constructions are rare in our data, as evident in table 13, which shows the instances of topicalizations and *wh*-questions in the files with a certain amount of Root Infinitives ( $\geq 10\%$ ), and whether they are found in clauses with a finite verb or in Root Infinitive clauses. Again, this is a small sample, and the data here is not conclusive, which is not surprising given that the amount of unambiguous, non-Prescriptive Infinitive utterances ranges from 26 (Kari) to 63 (Lucas). What this data does show, however, is the fact that these children *do* produce topicalizations and *wh*-questions, and that the total numbers seem to adhere to the generalization that Root Infinitives are incompatible with *wh*-questions and topicalizations in the Germanic languages, with the exception of English.

	RI (%)	<i>Topicalizations</i>		<i>Wh-questions</i>	
		Fin	RI	Fin	RI
Benedikte (2;01.06)		4	0	0	0
Kari (2;02.07)		0	0	0	0
Magnus 1 (2;03.10)		0	1	0	0
Lucas 2 (2;04.02)		11	1	4	0
Ingrid 1 (2;04.28)		2	0	0	0
William (2;05.22)		8	0	1	0
Total		26	2	5	0

Table 13: The distribution of topicalizations and wh-questions in the informants with a certain amount ( $\geq 10\%$ ) of Root Infinitives.

The few examples of topicalizations with non-finite verbs we do find either lack a subject, or the subject is preverbal. This is exactly what we would expect if the verb was left in the vP, (cf. previous section) and I take this as an additional indication for this. The three utterances are given in 30 (here an example from the first file of Lucas is included for illustration).

- (30) a. denne lese Magnus 1 (2;03.10)  
this read.INF
- b. inni sitte Lucas 1 (1;09.23)  
inside sit.INF
- c. det jeg gjøre Lucas 2 (2;04.02)  
that I do.INF

However, when the verb is finite, and the subject *is* expressed, the verb has often moved past the subject

- (31) a. der **datt katten** ned Ingrid 1 (2;04.28)  
there fell the-cat down  
'there the cat fell down'
- b. her **er aent** Lucas 2 (2;04.02)  
here is other  
'here is (an)other (one)'

- |    |   |                     |
|----|---|---------------------|
| c. | der <b>er</b> <b>gravemaskin</b><br>there is excavator<br>'there is (an/the) excavator'               | William (2;05.22)   |
| d. | så ## <b>kasta Pus</b> å halen<br>then threw Puss on (?) the-tail<br>'then Puss threw (? on the tail) | Benedikte (2;01.06) |

### 5.3.5 Modality

As reported for many languages, English being an exception (Hyams, 2012), non-finite root clauses seem to predominantly get a root modal interpretation. Examples are given in (32), with disambiguating contexts.

- |      |    |              |   |
|------|----|--------------|---|
| (32) | a. | Magnus       | jeg lese<br>I read.INF<br>'I (want to) read'  |
|      |    |              | denne lese<br>this-one read.INF<br>'this one (I want to) read'                                      |
|      |    | Investigator | skal du lese eller skal pappa lese eller ...<br>'Are you gonna read, or is daddy gonna read or ...' |
|      |    | Magnus       | ja Magnus lese<br>yes M. read.INF<br>'Yes M. (want to) read'  |
|      |    | Father       | skal Magnus lese?<br>'Is M. gonna read?'  |
|      |    | Investigator | ja<br>'yes'   |
|      |    | Magnus       | ja<br>'yes'   |
|      | b. | Ingrid       | denne<br>this-one   |
|      |    | Mother       | oi skal vi se i den ?<br>'wow, are we gonna have a look in this one?'                               |
|      |    | Ingrid       | sitte der<br>sit.INF there<br>'(I wanna) sit there'   |
|      |    | Mother       | skal du sitte på fanget?<br>'are you gonna sit on the lap?'   |

- c. Lucas (kom jeg) vise deg  
(come.IMP I) show.INF you  
'(come, I will) *show you*
- Investigator ja?  
yeah?
- Lucas jeg gjøre  
I do.INF  
'I (wanna) do it'
- Investigator ja?
- Lucas jeg gjøre
- d. Mother liker du kjeks eller Benedikte ?  
'do you like cookies, B.?'  
Benedikte spise kjeks nå  
eat.INF cookies now  
'(I wanna) eat cookies now'  
Mother nei vi har ikke mere kjeks

It is however not the case that all Root Infinitives are used with a modal sense, as can be seen from the example in (33).

- (33) a. ferdig lese bok nå Anne 1 (2;04;02)  
finished read.INF book now  
'finished reading the book now'

Because of the strict coding criteria (cf. section 4.4.4), a large portion of the verbs was not included in the analysis. Therefore I did not make a quantitative investigation of the modality of the unambiguous utterances, since there were so few, and modality is more interwoven with the lexical meaning of the verb than the other variables investigated here. Counting stative and eventive verbs would not be fruitful either, for the same reasons. Also, there is no formal restriction on stative predicates, cf. *sitte* 'sit' and *være* 'be', which both occur in Root Infinitives. Some verbs are of course also considerably more frequent than others for independent reasons.

## 5.4 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the data from our investigation. What they indicate, is that there seems to be a Root Infinitive stage in Norwegian, and research question 1, repeated here, is therefore answered in the affirmative.

RQ1: Is there a Root Infinitive stage in Norwegian child language?

The Root Infinitive stage in Norwegian seems to extend throughout stage III in the LARSP chart (2;0–2;6). In the transition to stage IV (2;6–3;0) the percentage of Root Infinitives in our data plummets from a mean of 26.54% to 2.08% (cf. table 9). The upper bound of the Root Infinitive stage thus seems to be sometime during stage IV, varying between individuals. More research is needed to identify the lower bounds of the Norwegian Root Infinitive stage.

In the next chapter I will answer research question 2, i.e., how Root Infinitives should be analysed.

## 6 Analysis

In this chapter I will answer research question 2, repeated here, with specification given as RQ2.1 and RQ2.2

RQ2: How should Root Infinitives be understood within the theoretical framework of generative minimalist syntax?

RQ2.1: To what extent do the four hypotheses outlined above (the small-clause hypothesis, the truncation hypothesis, the unique checking constraint hypothesis, and the modal drop hypothesis) give satisfactory analyses of Root Infinitives, both empirically and theoretically?

RQ2.2: Can a more satisfactory analysis of the Root Infinitive be given, based on new data from Norwegian child language?

In the following sections I review the four hypotheses of Root Infinitives outlined in research questions 2.1. I show that although all the theories have some merit, we must reject them all on empirical and/or theoretical grounds. Then I will answer research question 2.2 by proposing a fifth, new approach, based on the Minimalist Context-Linked Grammar outlined in Sigurðsson (2004, 2007, 2014b) and Sigurðsson and Maling (2008), which I argue can account for all the data presented in the previous chapter in a more satisfactory way.

### 6.1 Small-clause hypothesis

As mentioned in chapter 1.3.1, in the small-clause hypothesis, early child language is assumed to be deprived of functional categories, i.e., it «can be described within the limits of VP» (Platzack, 1990a, p. 17). This hypothesis makes some clear, testable predictions.

- (34) a. Since there are no functional categories for tense or finiteness there should be no consistency in the use of finite/non-finite verb forms.
- b. There should be no V2-effects, i.e., where the verb moves past the subject.
- c. Since there is no CP to support it there should be no *wh*-movement.

(34c) seems to hold. In section 5.3.4 we saw that only two of the children who produced a considerable amount of Root Infinitives ( $\geq 10\%$ ), also produced *wh*-questions (Lucas 2 and William). As for (34a) and (34b), they are not borne out in our data. Firstly, there is a consistency in the use of finite/non-finite verb forms with regard to their placement in

relation to negation (cf. section 5.3.3 and chapter 1.2.2), and they are often used with a root modal meaning (cf. section 5.3.5 and chapter 1.2.5). Secondly, the children seem to use topicalizations in predominantly finite clauses, and when they do, when the subject is present, the verb is often raised past it (i.e., V2-effect), counter to the prediction of the small-clause hypothesis. In addition, the small-clause hypothesis has a problem with explaining why *wh*-questions are not incompatible with Root Infinitives in English (cf. chapter 1.2.4).

There is also a theoretical argument in favour of abandoning the small-clause hypothesis. The argument goes as follows. We know that children understand more than they produce. In the present framework, we assume functional categories to be motivated by properties in natural language and bear features that have direct consequences for the interpretation of the resulting utterance. To assume that children are deprived of functional categories is thus tantamount to saying either i) that children do not fully interpret and comprehend utterances that need higher functional projections, such as questions and tensed utterances, or ii) that children use an altogether different apparatus for producing speech on the one hand and comprehending speech on the other. The first alternative seems empirically incorrect, and the second leads to a considerably more complicated theory and is conceptually unappealing.

## 6.2 Truncation Hypothesis

The truncation hypothesis of Rizzi (1993/1994) is similar to the small clause hypothesis, differing only in that the syntactic structures are truncated only in some utterances, and not all. The argument is that the child's grammar has not matured to a state where the child realizes that all clauses are CPs. Thus, the empirical and theoretical counterarguments for the small-clause hypothesis do not hold for the truncation hypothesis, since the children are able to project a full structure and thus supporting topicalizations and V2-effects, in addition to interpreting language basically in the same way that adult speakers do. They just don't do it constantly, and when they don't, this results in Root Infinitives and null subjects. Given the full competence hypothesis I have chosen for this thesis, and that I assume the CP-TP-vP structure to be universal (see section 1.6 and 2.2.2), there is no reason why children should truncate the structure.<sup>24</sup> The Truncation Hypothesis is therefore not compatible with the

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<sup>24</sup> Thanks to Janne B. Johannessen for pointing this out.



framework adopted here. Rather, an account that makes reference to a 2<sup>nd</sup> (or 3<sup>rd</sup>) factor explanation would be preferable.

## 6.3 Unique Checking Constraint

The Unique Checking Constraint hypothesis (UCC) assumes, counter to the Small Clause hypothesis and the truncation hypothesis, that children do know the functional categories of their target language(s) and are able to project full syntactic structures, and do so also in Root Infinitives. Wexler (1998) assumes that children have set the relevant parameters of their target language(s) at «the earliest observable stage», i.e., before they start to produce two-word utterances, around 18 months (Wexler, 1998, p. 25), and that they have control of many of the inflectional categories in their target language at the same time. The first is called Very Early Parameter Setting (VEPS) (Wexler, 1996, 1998), and the second is called Very Early Knowledge of Inflection (VEKI) (Wexler, 1998). Given VEPS and VEKI, the Root Infinitive stage is not a reflection of incomplete acquisition of the target language (cf. the modal drop hypotheses, sections 6.4 and 1.3.4), but, according to Wexler (1998), have maturational explanations which will become clear below (cf. section 2.2.2).

UCC claims to explain the following characteristics of the language of English speaking children in the Root Infinitive stage:

- (35) a. They often use accusative case in subject position in general, and predominantly in Root Infinitives («her going», Wexler (1998, p. 43).
- b. They often drop the subject altogether, and predominantly so in Root Infinitives (cf. our data in section 5.3.2).
- c. The subject is often to the left of the negation in Root Infinitives «Mary not go», Wexler (1998, p. 43).
- d. Null subject languages generally do not have a Root Infinitive stage (cf. section 1.2.1).

(35a) is taken to indicate that the subject has not been assigned nominative case by the verb, as accusative is assumed to be the default case in English. (35c) is taken to indicate that the subject has been moved out of the vP to a higher functional projection. We now turn to the UCC theory.

UCC makes use of a split Inflectional Phrase (IP, or TP in our terminology) (cf. Pollock, 1989), with separate functional Projections for subject-verb agreement (AgrP) and tense (TP). UCC builds on Chomsky's (1995) proposal that the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) – the principle that demands that every clause have a subject – should be construed in terms of an uninterpretable D-feature [*uD*] in T° instead of a nominative case feature. Wexler's (1998) account for Root Infinitives is as follows. There is a [*uD*<sup>EPP</sup>] feature in *both* T° and Agr<sup>o25</sup>, demanding that the subject is moved to its specifier in order to delete it. In the normal course of events, i.e., in adult English, both [*uD*<sup>EPP</sup>] features would be checked and deleted by the subject. To explain Root Infinitives, Wexler (1998) proposes that children, innately, have a constraint that disallow any feature to check and delete more than one other feature – the Unique Checking Constraint. Thus, only one of the [*uD*<sup>EPP</sup>] features in either AgrP or TP can be deleted, and one (or both) of the projections must be omitted from the syntactic derivation or else the derivation would crash because of the unchecked uninterpretable [*uD*]. Since the English 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present -s marks both tense and agreement, the result if either TP or AgrP (or both) is omitted, is the unmarked form of the verb (*'like, eat, ' etc.*). With [*uD*<sup>EPP</sup>] both AgrP and TP driving movement, the subject would still need to raise past the negation in order to check and delete it, explaining (35c).

Schütze and Wexler (1996a) and Wexler (1998) assume that the AGR-projection licenses nominative case. When it is omitted the subject receives accusative case, as this is the default. This thus explains (35a).

Given VEPS, the null subject parameter is also set at a very early age, so the null subjects in child (non-null subject) languages cannot be due to a mis-setting of the null subject parameter. Rather, Wexler (1998) proposes that null subjects in child language are i) due to a pragmatic error, as an effect of which they overgeneralize the use of topic-drop (p. 35), and ii) because «the null subjects of OI's [Optional Infinitives, read Root Infinitives] are licensed in some way by the non-finite main verb» (p. 33), as a PRO, which is normally licensed by non-finite verbs, as in control structures (e.g. «John<sub>i</sub> tried [to PRO<sub>i</sub> sleep]»). Since null subjects in finite clauses can only be instances of topic-drop, but null subjects in Root Infinitives can either be instances of topic-drop or PROs, the frequency of null subjects in Root Infinitives will necessarily be higher, thus explaining (35b).

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<sup>25</sup> For Wexler (1998) the [*uD*] feature is «strong». I have translated the terminology to more recent minimalist terminology.

Wexler (1998) proposes for null subject languages (such as Italian and Spanish) that the Agr<sup>o</sup> itself licenses the null subject, because Agr<sup>o</sup> is in a sense nominal in these languages (Wexler, 1998, p. 70) – essentially, Agr<sup>o</sup> is D, and therefore neither needs nor can be checked by the subject's D-feature. Thereby only the [*u*D] feature of T<sup>o</sup> needs to be checked by the subject, and UCC is not violated in these languages, explaining (35d).

In order to explain why the child, despite UCC, sometimes produces finite clauses, Wexler (1998) proposed the principle *Minimize Violations* (MV), which demands that the speaker chooses the alternative that violates the fewest grammatical requirements. The child has the choice between violating UCC, or violating what in Wexler's (1998) words is an «interpretable/conceptual property which requires [both] AGRS [AgrP] and TNS [TP]» (p. 65). Both alternatives are equally unpreferable and the child would vary between Root Infinitives, and finite clauses.

As mentioned in chapter 1.2.4, Root Infinitives seem to be incompatible with *wh*-questions in V2 languages (cf. our results in 5.3.4), whereas this is not the case for English. In Wexler's (1998) account it is «a property of V2 languages that if Spec,CP is filled by some constituent [e.g., a *wh*-phrase] then C must be filled by a finite verb» (p. 38). Since the V2 parameter is set at a very early age in these languages (cf. VEPS), the child knows that the finite verb must be in C in *wh*-phrases, and therefore never produces Root Infinitive *wh*-questions.

VEPS and UCC seem to account for all the empirical facts of Root Infinitives, except their predominant root modal reading found in most languages, and the possible correlation between Root Infinitives and null subjects in finite clauses. There are however theoretical reasons for abandoning at least the UCC. The UCC involves postulating specific, universal principles of UG to explain child data. Then in principle anything could happen: «Permitting the characteristics of the child and adult processing systems to differ opens a Pandora's box of possible processing explanations» (Crain & Thornton, 1998, p. 31). Wexler (1998) also proposes an alternative conception of UCC, where the D-feature of the subject is also uninterpretable, bolstering the claim with the observation that children in the Root Infinitive stage often omit determiners (pp. 68-69). If this is the case, the D feature of the subject would also be deleted when checking and deleting the [*u*D] features of either Agr<sup>o</sup> or T<sup>o</sup>. Such an account does not only seem empirically flawed, as evident from the Root Infinitive

examples in (36) where the subjects are obviously DPs. It would also have considerable ramifications for the understanding of interpretability, interface conditions, and categorial features. If a DP has a D-feature in the capacity of being the category  $D^\circ$ , how can a  $D^\circ$  have an uninterpretable D-feature, and how is a D-less  $D^\circ$  interpreted at LF? Further, given Wexler's (1998) own Very Early Knowledge of Inflection (VEKI), where would the child get the «knowledge» that the D-feature of the subject is uninterpretable, when it cannot possibly be present in the primary linguistic data?

- (36)
- |    |  |           |
|----|--|-----------|
| a. | den     sitte     der<br>It.M     sit.INF     there      | Kari      |
| b. | katten være     her<br>the-cat be.INF     here           | William   |
| c. | bebiene             sove<br>the-babies         sleep.INF | Benedikte |

As outlined in section 2.2.2, I assume that there are no child specific principles of grammar. In addition to the problems of UCC outlined above, it is thus also incompatible with the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis.

## 6.4 Modal drop hypotheses

In our data, Root Infinitives seem to be predominantly root modal (cf. section 5.3.5). This observation seems to hold cross-linguistically, with the exception of English (cf. section 1.2.5). In addition Root Infinitives seem to be predominantly used with eventive, and not stative predicates (the eventivity constraint, Hoekstra & Hyams, 1998). This has led many scholars to propose that Root Infinitives involve dropped (or null) modal auxiliaries. I reviewed this line of hypotheses in section 1.3.4. In this section I will go into some more depth, considering two of these theories.

In addition to explaining why Root Infinitives often get a root modal interpretation, Modal drop hypotheses have the advantage of readily explaining the relative placement of the verb and the negation in our data, as this patterns as expected given a missing modal auxiliary.

A general problem with modal drop hypotheses however, is that they cannot *eo ipso* explain why Root Infinitives seem to be incompatible with *wh*-questions and topicalizations in Norwegian and other languages, as pointed out in Poeppel and Wexler (1993). If the Root Infinitive just involved a missing or silent auxiliary, we would expect it to pattern syntactically just like finite clauses with an auxiliary and allow *wh*-questions and topicalizations. The two hypotheses reviewed below, Hyams' (2012) *Aspectual Anchoring hypothesis* and Josefsson's (2002) account, have both found ways to explain this distributional difference between Root Infinitives and finite clauses.

### 6.4.1 Aspectual Anchoring Hypothesis

Building on the Modal Reference Effect and the Eventivity Constraint of Hoekstra and Hyams (1998), Hyams (2012) proposed the *Aspectual Anchoring Hypothesis* (AAH).

- (37)      Aspectual Anchoring Hypothesis (AAH)  
               In the absence of a tense specification, the temporal meaning of a sentence is given by its aspectual properties.

The basis of this assumption is that eventive predicates have an aspectual event variable. Hyams (2012) proposes that eventive predicates can be anchored to the speech event time either by their aspectual properties (i.e., the aspectual event variable), or through a *null modal*. This excludes stative predicates for the following reasons. Firstly, by assumption, stative predicates do not have an event variable. Secondly, while *epistemic* modality can take both eventive and stative complements, *root* modality prototypically takes eventive complements. Since children are reported to master epistemic modality around the age of 3, i.e., after or in the end of the Root Infinitive stage, they cannot use the null modal with stative predicates (cf. section 1.2.5 for examples and references).

To explain the observation that the Modal Reference Effect and the Eventivity Constraint do not hold for English, Hyams (2012) proposes an English *null do*, which is aspectually and modally neutral, whereby the eventivity constraint can be bypassed in this language. Hyams (2012) assumes that the *null modals* are non-finite, and since English modals can only be finite, a null modal is not available to the English speaking children, which bolsters the claim above. The non-finite modal also accounts for the fact that Root Infinitives seem to be incompatible with *wh*-questions and topicalizations in many languages.

Although Hyams (2012) gives a good account of the interpretation of Root Infinitives, and explains the Modal Reference Effect and the Eventivity Constraint cross-linguistically for Root Infinitives in English, Dutch, and Russian, and child bare participles in Greek, she refrains from explaining the licensing of the Root Infinitives in child languages (as pointed out by herself, Hyams, 2012). Despite this, she makes some very specific claims about the structure of Root Infinitives, e.g. that they may include *null modals*, and that the *null modals* are non-finite. She assumes that also the English null *do* auxiliary is non-finite. This is problematic: While it is correct that the paradigm of the verb *do* has a non-finite form, auxiliary *do* arguably does not.

(38)

- b. I *did* learn to swim.
- c. \*It's hard to *do* learn to swim
- d. It's hard to do it.

In addition, Hyams (2012) does not explain why Root Infinitives license subjects at all, which they presumably should not if they lack finiteness altogether.

#### 6.4.2 Josefsson (2002)

Josefsson (2002) proposes an account which is similar in several ways to Hyams (2012) account. She suggests that Swedish Root Infinitives involve *null auxiliaries*, and that they are specifically connected to specific speech act she calls «the *creative speech act*» (p. 273), as well as directives. These speech acts, she argues, «do not require tense because an evaluation may take place by means of direct observation» (p. 290), as opposed to interrogatives or declaratives. Following Enç (1987), Josefsson (2002) proposes that there is a *time operator* in C°, which anchors the utterance to the speech event time (p. 292), which is not needed in these particular speech acts.

Josefsson (2002) adopts the Full Competence hypothesis of language acquisition (cf. section 2.2.2). She supposes that, given the Full Competence hypothesis, the reason why children allow finiteness to not be expressed in a main clause (i.e., Root Infinitives) is because it is also licit in adult Swedish, in structures such as (39)(p. 297), where the auxiliary can be

optionally omitted. In other words, there is positive evidence that finiteness is not needed for a clause to be grammatical.

- (39) Jag tror att ni (har) haft nog med besvär nu  
I believe that you (have) had enough with trouble now  
'I think that you've had enough trouble now'

To explain why Root Infinitives are incompatible with *wh*-questions and topicalizations, Josefsson proposes that the null auxiliary head has to *be properly governed*, i.e., stand in a spec-head relation with an agreeing head (cf. Josefsson, 1998). In the normal course of events, the finite null auxiliary would have moved to  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  (in the split-CP model of Rizzi, 2002, see section 2.1.5), check a  $[f]$  there whereby the subject raises to Spec-FinP, establishing an agreement relation with the null auxiliary, and the null auxiliary is thus properly governed. In subject-initial clauses, the subject would move to Spec-ForceP, leaving a trace in Spec-FinP. In topicalizations and non-subject *wh*-questions, the topicalized element or the *wh*-phrase would have to be moved past the subject to Spec-ForceP, violating the Minimal Link Conditions (MLC), or Shortest Link, i.e. that shorter movement is preferred over longer movement (Chomsky, 1993, pp. 17-18). In order not to violate MLC, the finite verb is moved to  $\text{Force}^\circ$  in order to satisfy the principle of Minimal Compliance (cf. e.g., Platzack, 2004),<sup>26</sup> rendering V2. But in Root Infinitives the finite verb is the null-auxiliary, which in Spec-ForceP is not in a spec-head relation with an agreeing head, and consequently not properly governed. The structure is therefore illicit.

Although Josefsson's (2002) account for Root Infinitives is elegant, and nicely explains the problems of Root Infinitives and *wh*-questions and topicalizations, some of the principles she bases her theory on does not seem able to account for the Norwegian data. For example, the licensing condition for null auxiliaries based on Josefsson (1998) presupposes the acceptability of sentences such as (39), where the auxiliary can be dropped in subordinate clauses, and the unacceptability of sentences such as (40) (1998, p. 32): with a dropped auxiliary in a matrix clause. (Andréasson, Karlsson, Magnusson, & Tingsell, 2002)

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<sup>26</sup> The principle of Minimal Compliance (Richards, 1998) states that if the obstacle – in this case the subject – or the specifier of the obstacle – in this case the null auxiliary – undergoes movement, a violation of MLC is avoided (Platzack, 2004, p. 195).

- (40) Ni \*(har) haft nog med besvär nu  
 you (have) had enough with trouble now  
 ‘You’ve had enough trouble now’

The argument is that finiteness can be recovered by the complementizer, and that the null auxiliary *har* is properly governed by it, whereas this possibility does not exist in the matrix clause, where there is no subjunction. But neither of these sentences is acceptable in Norwegian. In fact, finite *have*-omission is very specific to Swedish.

- (41) Jeg tror at dere \*(har) hatt nok besvær nå

According to Larsson (2009, pp. 375-376) the facts given in Josefsson (1998) are not totally representative: The auxiliary *har* can be dropped in any position with non-V2. See (42).

- (42) han kanskje inte (har) skrivit brevet ännu  
 he perhaps not (have) written the-letter yet  
 ‘He has maybe not written the letter yet’

Clauses such as (39) are believed to be positive evidence for Root Infinitives in Swedish. But as we saw above, these structures do not exist in Norwegian, and even in Swedish they are very rare (Andréasson et al., 2002) and restricted to the auxiliary *have*. Modals are never omitted.

The discussion in this section has revealed that there are good reasons not to consider a modal drop account. There are however two points from Josefsson (1998) that I will adopt or discuss further in the next section. The first point is that Root Infinitives are due to positive evidence that Root Clauses do not need finiteness. However, I will argue that it is not optionally dropped auxiliaries in adult language that represent this input, but the Prescriptive Infinitive (see section 1.4 and 3.2). The second point is how the grammars of children *allow* finiteness not to be expressed. As mentioned above, Josefsson (1998) argues that children use Root Infinitives in special speech acts. The first is what she has termed a «creative speech act», which is a kind of performative. In her view «children perform the same speech act as the one in Genesis [«let there be light!»] when playing. By virtue of their imaginary force, human beings, especially children, create when playing» (p. 292). The second speech act is a directive one, which in the cases where the subject is the addressee would make them Prescriptive Infinitives in the terminology used here.



## 6.5 A new proposal: A context-anchoring hypothesis of Root Infinitives

A common feature of most of the accounts for Root Infinitives is that Root Infinitives are assumed to be ordinary finite root clauses with something silent or missing. The small-clause hypothesis, the truncation hypothesis, and the UCC hypothesis see Root Infinitives as clauses missing functional projections relating to tense, finiteness or subject agreement. The modal drop hypotheses see Root Infinitives as finite clauses missing a (phonologically visible) modal auxiliary. In taking this view, the theories need to explain why Root Infinitives cannot do the things ordinary finite clauses can do, and as I have argued above, these accounts fall through either on empirical or theoretical grounds, or both.

As an alternative, I propose a new perspective on Root Infinitives, where Root Infinitives are viewed structurally as non-finite clauses. In taking this view, many of the empirical facts are readily explained by what we already know about non-finite clauses and by observable facts about Norwegian. Then what the theory needs to explain is why Root Infinitives can do things that ordinary non-finite clauses cannot.

I propose, similar to Josefsson (1998), that Root Infinitives are due to positive evidence in the input that root clauses do not need finiteness, and I propose that this positive evidence is supplied by the Prescriptive Infinitive. Therefore, Root Infinitives can be seen as overgeneralizations of the structure of the Prescriptive Infinitive. After all, these structures are found predominantly in child-directed speech, and would therefore be highly present in the child's input, and I reported in section 5.1 that the children in this study seem to have acquired the Prescriptive Infinitive.

To analyse the structure of Root Infinitives, I will use the Minimalist Context-Linked Grammar outlined in Sigurðsson (2004) and subsequent. In order for this overgeneralization to work, I have to revise the analysis in Johannessen (submitted) somewhat to make it fit the chosen framework, but I will base the revised analysis on new data from adult Norwegian.

One weakness of many of the previous accounts of Root Infinitives is the lack of discussion of the notion of finiteness or the failure of not separating finiteness from tense. Before I

present my analysis I will therefore discuss finiteness, its syntactic realization in Norwegian, and how I choose to analyse it.

### 6.5.1 Finiteness

Finiteness can be assumed to have the function of anchoring the utterance to the speech event, primarily temporally to the speech event time – to the *temporal coordinates* of the speech event (Bianchi, 2003). Another important function typically assigned to finiteness, is the ability to license an overt subject (cf. e.g., Cowper, to appear). Both of these functions are important for the understanding of Root Infinitives. The reason why Root Infinitives have often been treated as corresponding to finite structures is presumably that they seem to be deictically anchored to the speech event, and that they often occur with overt subjects. We will therefore need to look more closely at the syntax of these two functions.

#### Speech event anchoring

Finite root clauses are deictically anchored to the speech event, whereas (adult) non-finite clauses are not. In addition to the temporal anchoring of the clause to speech event time, and possibly also spatial anchoring, the speech event also includes speech event participants, i.e., an *addresser* (the speaker), and an *addressee* (the recipient) (Bianchi, 2003). These assumptions have been incorporated into the C-domain in the framework of Sigurðsson (2004, 2007, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a, 2014b). This can be represented as in figure 4.

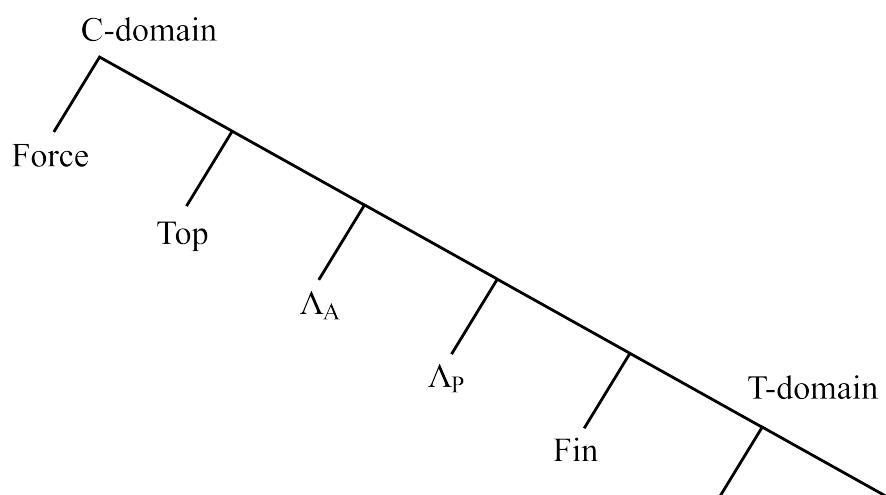
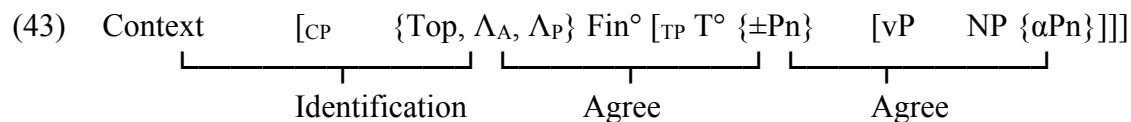


Figure 4: Sigurðsson's CP

In figure 4, there are addresser and addressee categories – logophoric agent ( $\Lambda_A$ ) and logophoric patient ( $\Lambda_P$ ) respectively. The (Fin)iteness category represents the temporal/spatial anchoring of the clause to the speech event (Sigurðsson, 2014a, p. 71).

In the following, a discussion of *person feature* licensing in finite root clauses is given. This is because the discussion of subject and person licensing will be important throughout this section. According to Sigurðsson (2014a) the licensing of person features happens as follows. A nominal argument (NP) – the subject – is merged in Spec-vP. This NP then enters into an agree relation with  $T^\circ$ , which values it as either personal or non-personal ( $\pm Pn$ ).  $T^\circ$  enters into an agree relation with the CP where its  $+Pn$  is valued in relation to  $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$  in the manner outlined in (44), and the pronominal subject inherits this value. Non-personal NPs – inanimates or indefinites – get 3<sup>rd</sup> person features by default. The speech event participants  $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$  are logophorically identified from the context. These agreement and identification relations are shown in (43)



(44) The computation of person, from Sigurðsson (2014b, p. 108),

- |     |                   |   |  |   |   |
|-----|-------------------|---|--|---|---|
| a1. | NP <sub>+Pn</sub> | ⇒ | NP <sub>+Pn/+Λ<sub>A</sub>, -Λ<sub>P</sub></sub> | = | 1 <sup>st</sup> person by computation           |
| a2. | NP <sub>+Pn</sub> | ⇒ | NP <sub>+Pn/-Λ<sub>A</sub>, +Λ<sub>P</sub></sub> | = | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person by computation           |
| a3. | NP <sub>+Pn</sub> | ⇒ | NP <sub>+Pn/-Λ<sub>A</sub>, -Λ<sub>P</sub></sub> | = | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person by computation           |
| b.  | NP <sub>-Pn</sub> |   |  | = | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person by default («no person») |

### Non-finite clauses

Before we move forward to subject licensing, we should note that there are different non-finite clauses in Norwegian. We can distinguish at least between ECM structures, raising structures, and control infinitives. Examples are given in (45).

- |      |    |   |                |
|------|----|---|----------------|
| (45) | a. | Theo hørte [ham gråte]  | <i>ECM</i>     |
|      |    | T. heard [him.ACC cry]  |                |
|      | b. | Motstand <sub>i</sub> synes [å t <sub>i</sub> være nytteløst] | <i>Raising</i> |
|      |    | Resistance <sub>i</sub> seems [to t <sub>i</sub> be useless]  |                |
|      | c. | Malene <sub>i</sub> prøver [å PRO <sub>i</sub> lære wolof]    | <i>Control</i> |

M.<sub>i</sub>                      tries    [to PRO<sub>i</sub>        learn    Wolof]  
 ‘Malene is trying [to learn Wolof]’

We have already seen an ECM structure in section 1.3.1. Another one is given here as (45a). ECM structures are often assumed to be structures where the non-finite clause (within the brackets) has a vP as its highest node. There is no T° in the embedded non-finite clause which can license nominative case to the subject, whereby the subject *him* is licensed accusative case by the superordinate vP. Since there is no T° that can license the infinitive form, this is thought to be the default form (Åfarli & Eide, 2003, pp. 179-182).

In the raising construction in (45b), the subject has been raised from the non-finite clause, to the subject position in the matrix clause, as opposed to ECM structures, and, as we will see, control infinitives that license a PRO. This is because the matrix verb *synes* ‘seems’ is a *raising verb*. It has no theta-arguments, and because of the theta (θ) criterion («Each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned one and only one argument» Chomsky, 1993 [1981], p.36), the subject is allowed to raise to the subject position of the matrix verb, although it has received a θ-role from the verb in the non-finite clause.

In the control infinitive, the «subject» of the non-finite clause in the brackets in (45c) is a phonologically empty PRO. The properties of PRO and how it is licensed will be discussed in the following section.

### 6.5.2 Subject licensing in finite root clauses and control infinitives

As mentioned above, finite and non-finite clauses also differ with respect to the subject requirement. Compare the examples in (46).

- (46) a. At \*(du) kom var en tabbe  
           That \*(you) came was a mistake
- b. (\*du) å komme var en tabbe  
           (\*you) to come was a mistake

The finite verb, the past tense form *kom* ‘came’, can license a subject, whereas the infinitive verb, *å komme* ‘to come’ cannot. As pointed out above, it is standardly assumed that non-finite clauses have a phonetically empty subject PRO.

- (47)    å PRO komme var en tabbe  
          to PRO come was a mistake

The licencing of PRO has generally been taken to be due to the non-finite verbs inability to license nominative case and subject verb agreement (see e.g., Cowper, to appear), whereby a case-less (or «null-case») and silent PRO is licensed instead (e.g., Áfarli & Eide, 2003). I will not adopt this view. Instead, I assume, with e.g. Sigurðsson (2007) and Landau (2006), that the licencing of PRO is unrelated to licencing of case. One reason for this assumption, is that PRO displays case agreement in languages such as Icelandic (Sigurðsson, 1991), indicating that PRO can carry case. In the example in (48a), *vanta* ‘lack’ takes an accusative subject, and in (48b) the verb *leiðast* ‘be bored’ takes a dative subject (examples of «quirky case»), from Sigurðsson (2007). In (48), the case of the subject is visible on the quantifier (accusative *alla*, dative *öllum*).

- (48)   a.   strákarnir      vonast til að PRO<sub>i</sub>      vanta ekki   **alla**<sub>i</sub>   í skólann  
              the-boys.NOM hope   for to           lack   not   all.ACC in the-school  
              ‘the boys hope that not all will be absent from school’
- b.   strákarnir      vonast til að PRO<sub>i</sub>      leiðast ekki   **öllum**<sub>i</sub>   í skólann  
              the-boys.NOM hope   for to           bore   not   all.DAT in the-school  
              ‘the boys hope that not all will be bored at school’

With Sigurðsson (2007), I assume that PRO is a result of the absence of speech event anchoring of the non-finite clause, since «Infinitival clauses [...] do not encode the speech event, and cannot license full-fledged person agreement» (Bianchi, 2010 , cf. Bianchi, 2003).

According to Sigurðsson, CP<sub>2</sub> in figure 5 intervenes between the non-finite T° in the non-finite clause and the controller in the matrix clause (Sigurðsson, 2012a). Following the analysis given in section 6.5.1, there is therefore no agree relation between the matrix subject and the T° in non-finite clauses, and the subject cannot get its Pn-feature valued in the syntax. Because of this, the  $\phi$ -featureless PRO is licensed instead.

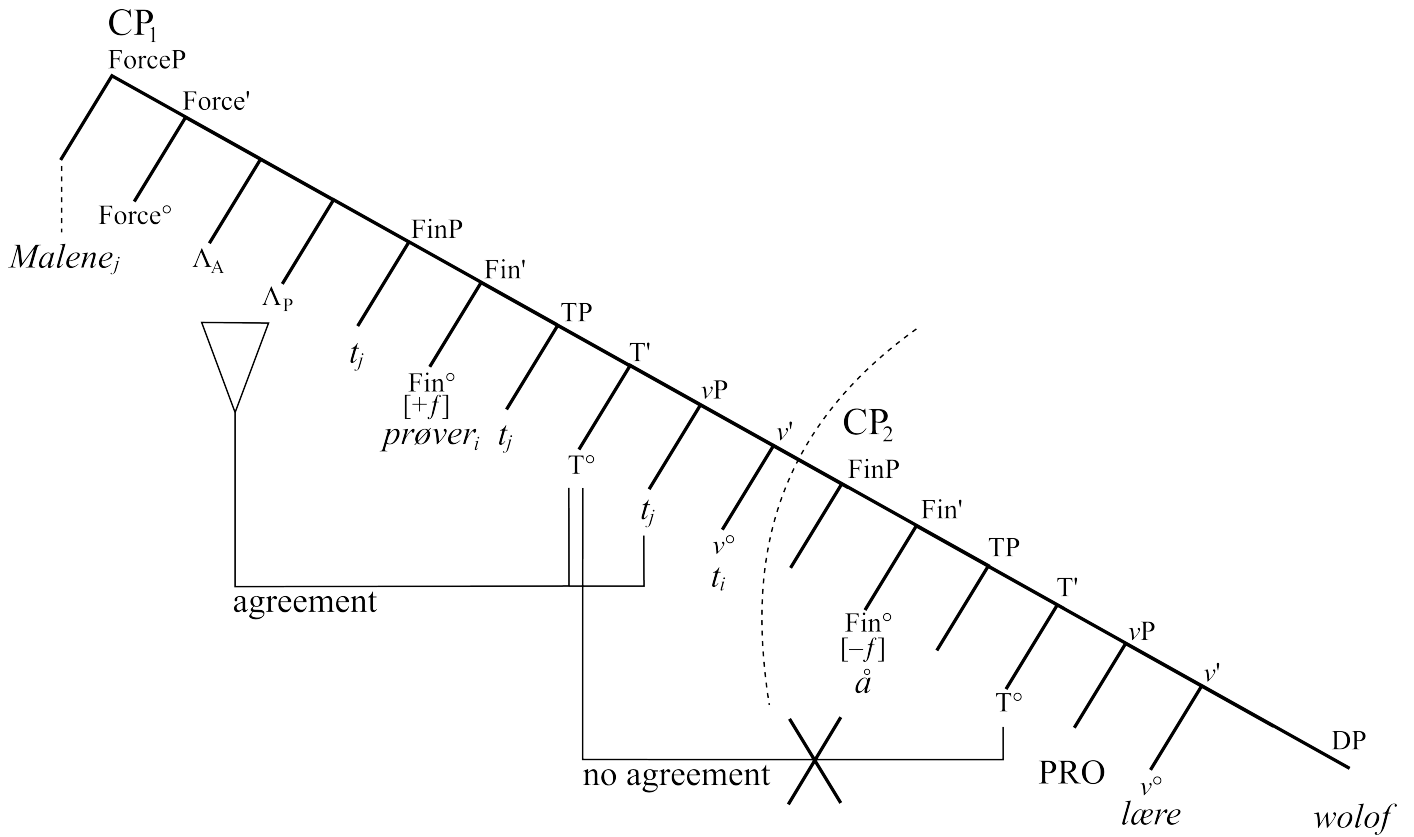


Figure 5: *Malene prøver å lære wolof* ‘Malene is trying to learn Wolof’

In my analysis I propose that the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  is present in the non-finite CP ( $\text{CP}_2$  in figure 5), and is the landing site for the infinitive marker *å* ‘to’ (K. R. Christensen, 2007). How non-finiteness is encoded in the non-finite  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  of control infinitives is not crucial for my analysis of Root Infinitives. For concreteness, I propose that it is negatively valued for finiteness ( $[-f]$ ).

As seen in examples like (49), PRO seems to have  $\phi$ -features, with which a reflexive can agree.

- (49) a. **Jeg** har sluttet å PRO<sub>i</sub> barbere **meg**<sub>i</sub>  
 I have stopped to PRO shave REFL.1SG  
 ‘I have stopped shaving’
- b. Har **du** sluttet å PRO<sub>i</sub> barbere **deg**<sub>i</sub>?  
 have you stopped to PRO shave REFL.2SG  
 ‘have you stopped shaving?’

However, we can assume that PRO itself is deprived of  $\phi$ -features, or «phi-feature deficient», Sigurðsson (2007, p. 27), and inherits its person features from the controller, in

these cases the subject of the matrix clause. (However, following Sigurðsson, 2012, p. 27, control predicates are blocked from transmitting their  $\phi$ -licensing properties onto the non-finite T, and further onto PRO, because of C intervening. We will come back to a possible way around this problem below.)

What happens if we sever the controller from the matrix clause, as in (50a)?

- (50) a. det var lurt å PRO<sub>i</sub> barbere seg<sub>i</sub>//?meg<sub>i</sub>/???deg<sub>i</sub>  
 EXPL was smart to pro shave refl.3/.1sg/.2sg  
 ‘it was a good idea to shave’
- b. det var lurt at jeg<sub>i</sub> barberte meg<sub>i</sub>/\*seg<sub>i</sub>  
 EXPL was smart that I shave REFL.1SG/.3  
 ‘it was a good idea that I shaved’
- c. det var lurt at du<sub>i</sub> barberte deg<sub>i</sub>/\*seg<sub>i</sub>  
 EXPL was smart that you shave REFL.2SG/.3  
 ‘it was a good idea that you shaved’

It differs from speaker to speaker to which extent the different alternatives of the example in (50a) are acceptable. To some it is only acceptable with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive, whereas for others, all three are acceptable. For the author, only 3<sup>rd</sup> and marginally 1<sup>st</sup> person reflexives are acceptable. The important point here is however that 3<sup>rd</sup> person is always possible, and seems to function as an unmarked default. This is in line with the computation of person of Sigurðsson, outlined above, and in which case we can assume that an *arbitrary* PRO (PRO<sub>arb</sub>) has been licensed, which we get in generic versions of control infinitives (cf. example (46) above: *to PRO<sub>arb</sub> come was a mistake*).

However, (50a) with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive, *det var lurt å barbere seg*, can be synonymous with (the acceptable versions of) (50b) and (50c) in all aspects relevant for this discussion. That is, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun can refer to the addresser or the addressee with the reading ‘it was a good idea of you/me to shave’. Conversely, in (50b) and (50c), the third person reflexive is sharply unacceptable. The question is, if the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is the default, where does PRO get its 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person features in (50a)? After all, (50a) with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person reflexives is acceptable to many Norwegian speakers.

One could argue that this is some pragmatic-morphological relation, and that the person features are drawn directly from the extra-linguistic context, but then we would have to assume that this should presumably hold for all instances of person feature assignment on PRO. This cannot be true, as is evident from the Brazilian Portuguese examples below. In Brazilian Portuguese, *a gente* ‘the people’ can be used as a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun (‘we’), but gets 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular agreement, both in the verb and the reflexive (cf. Landau, 2013). In the examples in (51), both *a gente* and the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun *nós* thus refer to the same entities, but the reflexives nevertheless need to agree with the controller.

- (51) a. *a gente*          *decidiu*          *se/\*nos*          *preparar*  
          we.3SG          decided.3SG      REFL.3/1.PL      prepare.INF  
          ‘we decided to prepare ourselves’
- b. *nós*          *decidimos*      *\*se/nos*          *preparar*  
          we.1pl      decided.1pl      REFL.3/1.PL      prepare.INF  
          ‘we decided to prepare ourselves’

(Yuri F. Venancio, p.c.)

Another possible explanation could be that PRO in examples such as (50a) (and perhaps in general) gets its person features at PF, i.e., post-syntactically, after spell-out.. This has in fact been suggested by Sigurðsson (2007) and Landau (2013). We then would have to assume a morphology that is «radically disentangled from syntax» (Sigurðsson, 2007, p. 1). After all, there seems to be no semantic difference between 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person agreement respectively (when it is not used generically), in the example (50a). Following the discussion in 2.1.4, we can assume that there is a «tight race» between the 3<sup>rd</sup> person and the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> person reflexives from the vocabulary list. Exactly *how* PRO can inherit the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person features in (50a) is a discussion that surpasses the scope of this thesis, and I will leave it for later investigations.<sup>27</sup> We do, for now, note that it is possible to some Norwegians.

### 6.5.3 The structure of Root Infinitives

Using the framework sketched out above, I will propose an analysis of the Root Infinitive as a non-finite clause that lacks the functional projection Fin, but still has the speech event

<sup>27</sup> A possible explanations to how PRO can inherit the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person features in (50a) could be that PF somehow allows them to be inherited directly from the speech event participants encoded in  $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$  in the matrix clause, and that the non-finite CP only blocks agreement in the syntax.



participant features  $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$  encoded in the C-domain. The structure of Root Infinitives is thus as in Figure 6.

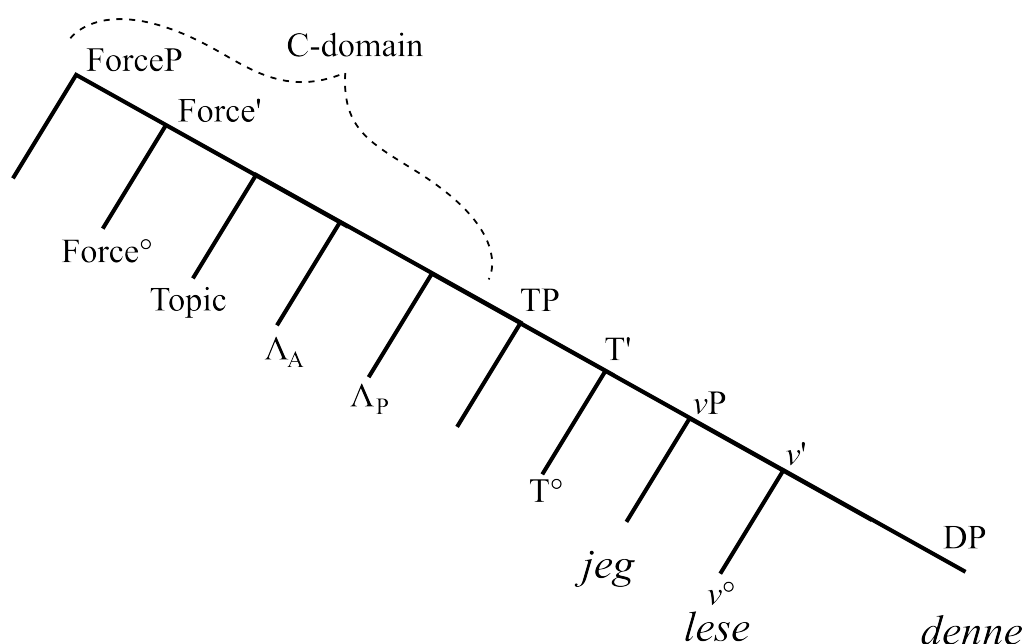


Figure 6: Proposed structure of the Root Infinitive

Since I further assume that this is the same structure as (both child and adult) Prescriptive Infinitives (see the discussion in section 6.5.9), we want ForceP to be present so that it can be marked as imperative. It is difficult to tell where exactly the subject is in the structure, and may in fact vary. In Figure 6 I have placed it in the base position (spec-vP).

This constellation is available in several languages. One need not go further than to European Portuguese and its inflected Infinitive. See the example in (52).

- (52) Será            difícil            [eles aprovarem            a proposta]  
       be.FUT.3P    difficult        [they approve.INF.3PL the    proposal]  
       ‘it will be difficult (for them) to approve the proposal’  
       (Raposo, 1987, p. 86).

The subject of the non-finite clause, *eles* ‘they’, is obviously overt and pronominal. I take this to indicate that  $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$  are encoded in the C-domain, but that  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  is not.

In the following I will explain the rationale for this specific analysis, and show how it explains the data given in chapter 5: The incompatibility with *wh*-questions and topicalizations, their predominant root modality, and why they have null subjects more often

than finite clauses. I argue that speech event participles must be present, (i) because it Root Infinitives can have overt, pronominal subjects, and (ii) because Root Infinitives are root clauses, and the speech act participants should be encoded like in any other root clause. I further argue that  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  is not present in Root Infinitives, as indicated by the fact that  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  is the landing site for the infinitive marker in control structures and other non-finite clauses (K. R. Christensen, 2007) while Root Infinitives *never* have an infinitive marker. As a possible explanation for why Root Infinitives do not need to be spatio-temporally anchored, I consider the proposal of Josefsson (2002).

#### 6.5.4 Topicalization and *wh*-questions

If I had assumed that Root Infinitives were clauses with a missing finite auxiliary, I would have been required to give an extra analysis of why Topicalizations and *wh*-questions seem to be (more or less) incompatible with Root Infinitives. Since I take as a starting point that Root Infinitives are non-finite clauses, this incompatibility more or less comes for free.

*Wh*-interrogatives are only licit in finite clauses in Norwegian, as evident from the examples in (53). There is in other words no positive input supporting *wh*-questions in Root Infinitives. Such structures would involve a  $\text{Force}^\circ$  marked [INT]errogative, with absence of the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  category. Evidence in favour of an [INT]  $\text{Force}^\circ$  would require an initial *wh*-word. This is a very salient cue, which could not easily be confused with anything else. There is in other words no conceivable reason to assume Norwegian *wh*-Root Infinitives in the first place.

- (53)
- a. I don't know how to analyse Root Infinitives
  - b. \*Jeg vet ikke hvordan å analysere Rot-Infinitiver  
I know not how to analyse Root Infinitives
  - c. Jeg vet ikke hvordan jeg skal analysere Rot-Infinitiver  
I know not how I should analyse Root Infinitives  
'I don't know I should analyse Root Infinitives'

As for topicalizations, I argue in line with Wexler (1998) and others that they are connected to V2, which demands that a finite verb be in second place. Topicalizations would in other words be illicit in Root Clauses, since the verb there is left in vP and non-finite.

How to analyse the V2 phenomenon is a longstanding and ongoing debate that by far surpasses the scope of this thesis. Whether it is a phenomenon of narrow syntax or a PF criterion (Platzack, 2013) or something completely different will not occupy us here. We should note, however, that both Westergaard (2009, forthcoming) and Josefsson (2002) report some stray instances of wh-Root Infinitives and Root Infinitives with topicalization (see section 1.2.4), and there were a few examples of Root Infinitives with topicalization in our data as well (see section 5.3.4). Thus a universal V2 parameter or V2 by some universal principle would not capture all the data, while approaches to V2 as a number of construction specific «micro-cues» (cf. Westergaard, 2009, forthcoming) or as a PF criterion (Platzack, 2013) would be more preferable to this end.

### 6.5.5 *Fin*<sup>o</sup> and the missing infinitive marker

In our data, there is no infinitive marker *å* ‘to’ in Root Infinitives (cf. Appendix 12). To my knowledge, the same holds for all other languages where Root Infinitives have been reported. Since *Fin*<sup>o</sup> can be assumed to be the landing site for the infinitive marker (K. R. Christensen, 2007), I take this as an indication that *Fin*<sup>o</sup> is not present in Root Infinitives.

### 6.5.6 Root modality

As presented in section 5.3.5, and as has also been reported cross-linguistically (see section 1.2.5), Root Infinitives often get a root modal interpretation. Semantically, prescriptive mood and root modality are similar in that they both refer to someone’s *to-do-list*, to use the terminology of Portner (2007). If we assume Root Infinitives to be overgeneralisations of Prescriptive Infinitives, this modality is readily explained. Comparing Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives from our own material, and constructed imperative and root modal examples, we see that they all differ only as to whose to-do-list they refer to. (54a-c) all refer to the to-do-list of the addressee, in this case *mummy*, (54d-e) both refer to the addresser’s to-do-list, and (54f-g) both refer to the to-do-list of a 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject, in this particular case a toy panda who is supposed to sit inside a toy excavator.

- (54) a. read this, mummy! (imperative)
- b. mamma **skal** lese den (Root modal with auxiliary)
- mummy shall read that-one
- ‘mummy’s gonna read that one’

- c.   mamma lese           den                   (Prescriptive Infinitive) Benedikte (2;01.06)  
      mummy read.INF   this  
      ‘mummy read this!’
- d.   jeg       **skal** lese       denne  
      I       shall read    this-one           (Root modal with auxiliary)  
      ‘I’m gonna read this one’
- e.   jeg       lese           denne           (Root Infinitive) Anne 1 (2;04.02)  
      I       read.INF       this-one  
      ‘I (am gonna) read this one’
- f.   den           **skal** sitte       der       Root modal with auxiliary  
      that-one     shall sit     there  
      ‘that one’s gonna sit there’
- g.   den           sitte       der           Root Infinitive Kari (2;02.07)  
      that-one     sit.INF   there  
      ‘that one (is gonna) sit there’

Given the similar interpretations of many root infinitives and corresponding examples with auxiliaries, a modal drop account is perhaps not too far-fetched. However, we find the same similarity between root infinitives and adult non-finite clauses. Compare (55a) and (55b), which to the author are synonymous in all respects relevant for this discussion.<sup>28</sup>

- (55) a. Morten<sub>i</sub> bestemte seg<sub>i</sub> for å PRO<sub>i</sub> lese ei bok  
      M.    decided REFL.3 for to PRO read a book  
      ‘Morten decided to read a book’
- b. Morten<sub>i</sub> bestemte seg<sub>i</sub> for at han<sub>i</sub> skulle lese ei bok  
      M.    decided refl for that he should read a book  
      ‘Morten decided that he should read a book’

<sup>28</sup> Examples such as (i) are acceptable in the same meaning in some context, with a «future present» reading. This is however besides the point here, since this is neither a discussion of the future present, nor a discussion of the present tense in child language.

i) Morten bestemte seg for at han (først) leser ei bok (, og så går en tur)  
      M.    decided REFL.3 for that he (first) reads a book (and then walks a stroll)  
      ‘M. decided that he would (first) read a book, (and then take a stroll)’

The *skulle* ‘should’ here, is the past tense form of the present form *skal* in the examples in (54b,d,f),<sup>29</sup> but to my knowledge, no one has proposed that there are dropped modals in constructions such as (55a).

Examples such as (55a) have made scholars propose that infinitives in general are not *tenseless* although they lack finiteness, as noted by Stowell (1982) who writes that «the tense of *to*-infinitives is that of a *possible future*» (p. 562) relative to the matrix verb, and proposes that they may have a tense operator. Building on the observation of Stowell (1982) and others, Wurmbrand (2014) proposes that these infinitives have a future modal operator above the infinitive vP. Johannesen adopts this proposal as an analysis of the Prescriptive Infinitive. The exact representation of this is not pivotal for the discussion here. The main proposal is that the infinitives in (56) have some structural properties in common that make future and modal.

- (56) a. jeg lese denne (Root Infinitive) Anne 1 (2;04.02)  
           I read.INF this-one  
           ‘I (am gonna) read this one’
- b. mamma lese den (Prescriptive Infinitive) Benedikte (2;01.06)  
           mummy read.INF this  
           ‘mummy read this!’
- c. Morten<sub>i</sub> bestemte seg<sub>i</sub> for å PRO<sub>i</sub> lese ei bok  
           M. decided REFL.3 for to PRO read a book  
           ‘Morten decided to read a book’

To explain the modal interpretation Root Infinitives often get, I propose that there is a future modal operator related to some infinitive constructions. An indication of this is the examples in (56). For specificity we can adopt the hypothesis of Wurmbrand (2014), that there is a future modal operator in these non-finite clauses, and further, that it is situated somewhere in the T-domain. This specific future modal infinitive is selected by the Root Infinitive CP.

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<sup>29</sup> If the matrix verb of (55b) had been present tense, the auxiliary in the example would be *skal* as in the examples in (54).

- i) Morten bestemmer seg for at han **skal** lese en bok  
       M. decides REFL.3 for that he shall read a book  
       ‘M. decides (for himself) that he will read a book’

This theory adopts some of the points from the modal drop hypotheses, especially Josefsson (2002) in proposing a functional future modal category in these constructions. The main difference (except that I don't propose that Root Infinitives are finite) is that my proposal is more flexible: Root Infinitives are distinguished from finite root clauses by the absence of the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  category, and from other non-finite clauses by the presence of  $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$ . In other words, contrary to Josefsson (2002), modality is dependent on the «Root Infinitivity», but *not vice versa*. Therefore, the non-modal examples of Root Infinitives (see section 5.3.5) are not counterexamples to my analysis, but could be seen as overgeneralizations of Root Infinitives *without* the future modal operator.<sup>30</sup>

### 6.5.7 $\text{Fin}^\circ$ and the absence of speech event anchoring

In section 6.5.1, I argued that  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  is responsible for the spatio-temporal anchoring of the clause to the speech event. Here I argue that Root Infinitives have no  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , and thereby the spatio-temporal coordinates of the speech act are not encoded. Since Root Infinitives are root clauses, the question of why the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  head can be omitted should be addressed.

A possible explanation has been proposed by Josefsson (2002). According to her, Root Infinitives are either directive (i.e., prescriptive) or «creative» (a special kind of performative) speech acts. In the present analysis, all Root Infinitives that are directive speech acts with the addressees as subjects are coded as Prescriptive Infinitives. Although the exact speech act classification of Root Infinitives can be discussed, it is clear that most of them have a *world-to-word direction of fit*, to use the terminology of Searle (1976). I.e., a part of their *illocutionary point* – their «purpose» – is «to get the world to match the words» (Searle, 1976, p. 3), as opposed to declaratives, which have a *word-to-world* direction of fit, i.e., as part of their illocutionary point to get «the words [...] to match the world» (Searle, 1976, p. 3). For brevity, I will use the *world-to-word speech act*, to refer to the different speech acts in Josefsson (2002) in the remainder of this thesis.

The argument in Josefsson (2002) is that world-to-word speech acts need not be spatio-temporally anchored to the speech event, because they can be evaluated by direct observation (cf. section 6.4.2). Their felicity condition is, according to Josefsson, that they «[create or change] a state of affair in the direction intended by the speaker» (Josefsson,

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<sup>30</sup> In Josefsson (2002), 63 out of 383 (16%) of the Root Infinitives were not in Auxiliary contexts (the data included possible Prescriptive Infinitives).

2002, p. 291), and that they are not truth conditional, like declaratives. This has some resonance in the proposal in Cowper (to appear). In her proposal, there is a division between, in her terms, a proposition and a bare event. The latter only needs to be «sensorily perceived», while the former «can be cognitively evaluated as true or false». Further, while the feature responsible for the anchoring to speech event time ( $\text{Fin}^\circ$  in our framework), is hierarchically dependent on the clause being a («cowperian») proposition in a feature geometry of dependency relations, the feature responsible for subject licensing and subject-verb agreement ( $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$  in our framework) crucially *is not*.<sup>31</sup>

In other words, world-to-word speech acts need not be «cognitively evaluated true or false», as declaratives do. They need only be «sensorily perceived», in the «change [in] a stage of affair in the direction intended by the speaker» (Josefsson, 2002), i.e., they are not («cowperian») propositions.

As mentioned in section 5.3.5, I found good reason not to count the amount of eventive and stative verbs in our data, but if, in later investigations, a so-called Eventivity Constraint (cf. section 1.2.5, 1.3.4, and 6.4) were to be found also for Norwegian, i.e., that there were unproportionally less stative verbs in Root Infinitives than in finite clauses, this would not be unexpected given the world-to-word speech acts hypothesis of Root Infinitives. The argument goes as follows. The world-to-word speech act analysis means that the predicates of the Root Infinitives must be such that an actor is able to change the state of affairs. This excludes many stative predicates, as in the fictive Root Infinitive and imperative in (57).

- (57) a.   ? han trengje hjelp  
           he need.INF help  
           = I oblige him to need help
- b.   ???need help, you!

The world-to-word speech act hypothesis perhaps seems *ad hoc* since we have no other structures apart from Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives in the language where this has an effect (unless we take imperatives to lack finiteness as well, as proposed by Platzack & Rosengren, 1997). We will therefore only note here that this is a possible explanation to

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<sup>31</sup> According to Cowper (to appear) the exact feature hierarchies can differ between languages. The hierarchy referred to here is for English, but I assume it to hold for Norwegian as well.

why Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives may lack the category  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  but still occur as root clauses.

### 6.5.8 The subject of Root Infinitives

From the discussion in section 6.5.2 a remaining question is what the subjects (and null subjects) of Root Infinitives really are. As we saw in section 5.3.2, Root Infinitives often have null subjects. But the null subject cannot be PRO. Firstly, I regard PRO as a reference variable, following Sigurðsson (2007, p. 21). In Root Infinitives there are no superordinate clauses with a constituent that PRO can refer to. A possibility is that there is an arbitrary PRO in Root Infinitives, as in the impersonal control infinitive in (46): *to come*  $\text{PRO}_{\text{arb}}$  *was a mistake*. But PRO in control infinitives is not interchangeable with an overt subject, as is evident from (58), but in Root Infinitives the subjects often *are* overt.

- (58)      Ragni begynte å **\*Ragni/\*hun<sub>i</sub>/PRO<sub>i</sub>**      spille   fløyte  
              R.        started to **R./she/PRO**                play    flute  
              ‘Ragni started *\*Ragni/\*she/PRO* to play the flute’

In my proposal for the structure of Root Infinitives (see section 6.5.3), I argued that Root Infinitives are clauses that lacks the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  category but have the speech participant categories  $\Lambda_A$  and  $\Lambda_P$ . As an effect of that, Root Infinitives can have over subjects (like the European Portuguese inflected infinitive in (52)). That means that the null subjects of Root Infinitives are not examples of PRO, but rather *pro*, or rather, I will argue, they are instances of topic-drop. As the reader familiar with Norwegian will know, topic-drop is not particularly common in Norwegian, but it does exist to some extent.

Sigurðsson and Maling (2010) proposes an account for *pro-drop* (and topic-drop) called the Empty Left Edge Condition (ELEC).

- (59)    The left edge of a clause containing a silent referential argument must be phonetically empty (in language or construction X) (Sigurðsson & Maling, 2010, p. 62 )

In Norwegian Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives the left edge is maximally phonetically empty. In finite clauses, the finite verb would have moved to  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , whereby the subject would move to Spec- $\text{Fin}^\circ$  to satisfy V2 as outlined in section 2.1.5. In Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives the verb is left in vP, and although we cannot pinpoint the exact location of the overt subjects, by conjecture it does not *need* to move,



leaving the whole CP without phonetic content, which means that topic-drop is always licit in Root Infinitives.

In our data we saw that there is a trend towards correlation between Root Infinitives in total, and null subjects in *finite* clauses ( $p \approx 0.08$ ) and that this trend probably would have been significant if we had had more data, as the correlation coefficient was quite high ( $\rho \approx 0.71$ ). Because of the uncertainty connected to the data, any proposal as to the reason for this trend is necessarily speculative. However, a highly significant correlation was found in Danish child language by Hamann and Plunkett (1998). In my analysis, both null subjects and Root Infinitives are connected to the C-domain. Platzack (2001) singles out the C-domain as particularly difficult for early L1 learners and other groups known to have a deviant language. As discussed throughout this thesis, the C-domain makes discourse and speech event information available to the syntactic structure. This information is necessarily connected to other parts of human cognition. For example, the notion of old and new information in the syntax depends on *the theory of mind*: the ability to know that other people do not know the same as oneself knows. Theory of mind has been reported to not be fully developed before around the age of 5 (see e.g., Wimmer & Perner, 1983). A possible (but somewhat speculative) proposition is that, since Root Infinitives and child null subjects are connected to the C-domain, the correlation of their developmental trajectories are due to them both being connected to the development of the C-domain.

### 6.5.9 Prescriptive Infinitives

The proposed analysis of Root Infinitives is based on the Prescriptive Infinitives providing positive evidence that finiteness (or rather the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  category) is not necessary in Root Clauses. Thus, Root Infinitives can be said to be *overgeneralizations* of Prescriptive Infinitives. Johannessen's (submitted) report that Prescriptive Infinitives are used particularly in child-directed speech makes this probable. Since the cues present for standard imperatives – verbs in imperative form, clause-initially in  $\text{Force}^\circ$  – are not present in the same way in prescriptive infinitives, overgeneralization is not unexpected. Ideally then, Prescriptive Infinitives and Root Infinitives should share some structure.

The characteristics of the Norwegian Prescriptive Infinitives were given in section 3.2 and 5.1. The most salient difference between Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives, apart from the Imperative force, is that Prescriptive Infinitives do not seem to have pronominal

subjects. The reason for this, according to Johannessen (submitted), is that infinitives cannot license (structural) nominative case, and pronouns are the only words in Norwegian that are case marked.<sup>32</sup> This is visible from the example in (60a-b). The 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive we see in (60c), an example from our data, is due to a 3<sup>rd</sup> person being the default person (cf. computation of person from Sigurðsson, 2014a, p. 71 above).

- (60) a. ... **Nora** sitte rolig der Nora (Johannessen, submitted)  
 N. sit.INF quietly there N.  
 ‘Nora sit quietly there, Nora’
- b. \***Hun** sitte rolig der  
 She.NOM sit.INF quietly there
- c. Mother: **du** må gå bort til Morten  
 ‘you must go to M.’  
 Child: ja  
 ‘yes’  
 Mother: Forte **seg!**  
 hurry.INF REFL.3  
 ‘hurry!’

This does not hold for the Root Infinitives in the material, where both 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns are used.

- (61) a. jeg gjøre Lucas  
 I do.INF
- b. jeg lese denne Anne  
 I read.INF this-one
- c. han sitte der Ingrid (2;04.28)  
 He.NOM sit.INF there

In section 5.1 I mentioned that I did not find any Prescriptive Infinitives with 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects in the prescriptive infinitives, as Johannessen (submitted) notes for her Norwegian Prescriptive infinitives. I will come back to this below.

In this section I have already argued in favour of the advantages of analysing Root Infinitives as overgeneralisations of Prescriptive Infinitives. In the remainder of this section, I will suggest that the restriction on the subjects in Prescriptive Infinitives is only apparent:

<sup>32</sup> Some Norwegian dialects still have case licensed by preposition, but this is irrelevant for this discussion, and does not apply to the dialect under investigation here.

pronominal subjects are un-preferred in most cases by most speakers of Norwegian, but not ungrammatical. This supports the assumption that two constructions under discussion share much structure. I based this discussion in the following on new data from adult Norwegian. I will start with 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun subjects, then proceed to 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns, and lastly discuss the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun.

Ordinary imperatives do not take 1<sup>st</sup> person pronouns as their subjects, which is natural, as they are directed towards the addressee. This is with one important exception. In Norwegian, imperatives with the verb *få* ‘get, receive’ can have a 1<sup>st</sup> person subject: see the example in (62) (and cf. Faarlund, 1985; Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 589).<sup>33</sup> I argue that there are good reasons for analysing the *få*-imperative along the same lines as the Prescriptive Infinitive. Primarily, when the subject is present in both the Prescriptive Infinitive and the *få*-imperative, the subject precedes the verb, whereas it follows the verb in standard imperatives (62). Secondly, whereas the negation always precedes the verb in both the Prescriptive Infinitive and the *få*-imperative, the negation can either precede or follow the negation in the standard imperative (63). Thirdly, the verb *få* is identical in the infinitive and imperative form (64). With all these facts put together, there are both morphological and syntactic indications that the *få*-imperative has more in common with the Prescriptive Infinitive than the standard imperative.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, there is an issue with learnability.

<sup>33</sup> In addition there is a special structure *La oss ... ‘let’s’* (Faarlund et al., 1997, p. 589) which can have a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural object. But this 1<sup>st</sup> person plural subject must always be *inclusive*, i.e., both refer to the addresser and one or more addressee(s). In the example in (i), where the addressee cannot be included in the 1<sup>st</sup> person person, the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural is the object, and not the reflexive as in (ii), and the understood subject the addressee.

- i. (gi deg og) la oss<sub>EXCL</sub> slippe inn!  
(give you and) let us get in!  
‘(you stop this and) let us in!’
- ii. la oss<sub>INCL</sub> gå inn!  
let us go inside  
‘let’s go inside!’

In other words, the addressee is always included in the subject in this structure, which does not make it very different from the standard imperatives, as opposed to the *få*-imperative.

<sup>34</sup> In Faarlund’s (1985) analysis of the *få*-imperative, he points out that «until a generation or so ago, it was considered ‘child language’ [sic!]», and also notes that «at a certain stage of child language, infinitives are used with a certain jussive [prescriptive] meaning» and that «[t]hese interesting observations certainly are part of the history of *få*-imperatives». To Faarlund «it seems that those children [...] never grew out of that habit»

Given the Prescriptive Infinitives, which we know children to master at an early age, it is difficult to imagine how a child could acquire a *få*-imperative but with a standard imperative structure with a first person subject. There are no other examples of this in the language.

- (62) a. (jeg) få (\*jeg) den avisa! *få*-imperative  
(I) get (I) that newspaper  
'give me that newspaper!'
- b. (\*du) gi (du) meg den avisa! Standard imperative  
(you) give (you) me that newspaper  
'give me that newspaper'
- c. ... Nora sitte rolig der Nora CDPI  
N. sit.INF quietly there N. (Johannessen,  
submitted)  
'Nora sit quietly there, Nora'
- (63) a. (ikke) få (\*ikke) den avisa, få den andre! *få*-imperative  
(not) get (not) that newspaper, get that other  
'don't give me that newspaper, give me the other one!'
- b. (ikke) stå (ikke) der! Standard imperative  
(not) stand.IMP (not) there  
'don't stand there!'
- c. ikke klore da får mamma vondt! CDPI  
not scratch.INF then gets mummy pain (Johannessen,  
submitted)  
'don't scratch, that'll hurt mummy!'
- d. \*klore ikke da får mamma vondt!
- (64) a. Ikkje få panikk! Standard imperative  
don't get.IMP panic!  
'don't (you) panic!'
- b. Nå er det på tide å få seg noe mat Infinitive  
now is EXPL on time to get.INF self some food  
'now it's time to get some food'

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(pp. 152-153). Without speculating as to the genesis of the *få*-infinitive, I am in other words not the first to connect it to Prescriptive Infinitives and Root Infinitives. I also wish to stress that, as Johannessen (submitted) notes, the CDPI is necessarily a very old construction (from «before 500 AD»), since it exists in all North-Germanic languages. In other words, the structure which the *få*-imperative possibly was moulded after must have existed in Norwegian several generations ago.

In Johannessen's analysis, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive is taken to be the default. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun on the other hand, Johannessen argues, is prohibited as a subject because finiteness is needed to license nominative case, and pronouns are case marked in Norwegian. Since I have proposed that PRO is required due to lack of  $\phi$ -features on the non-finite T°, and not lack of case (or presence of «null-case»), we need to find another way to explain the prohibition of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns. Fortunately, this explanation is already given in the person mapping of Sigurðsson, given in (44), where we saw that 3<sup>rd</sup> person was marked for both –ΛA and –ΛP, i.e., neither addresser nor addressee. Since the subject of Prescriptive Infinitives is always the addressee, a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun is *ipso facto* excluded as a subject. The same effect is seen in right or left dislocated (vocative) referents of standard imperatives. Compare (65e-g).

- (65) a. [du/dere/den/alle som har skrevet på tavla], rekk opp hånda!  
 [You.SG/.PL/the-one/all REL have written on the-blackboard] raise up the-hand  
 'you/the one/everyone who have/has written on the blackboard, raise your hand'
- b. Rekk opp hånda, [du/dere/den/alle som har skrevet på tavla]!
- c. \*[han/hun som har skrevet på tavla], rekk opp hånda!  
 [he/she REL has written on the-blackboard], raise your hand!  
 'he/she who has written on the blackboard, raise your hand!'
- d. \*rekk opp hånda, [han/hun som har skrevet på tavla]!
- e. \*Hei Daniel<sub>i</sub>, det var dumt at han<sub>i</sub> barberte seg;  
 hi D. it was sad that he shaved REFL.3
- f. Hei Daniel<sub>i</sub>, det var dumt å PRO<sub>i</sub> barbere seg;  
 hi D. it was sad to PRO shave REFL.3  
 'Hi, D., it was a bad idea to shave'
- g. Hei Daniel<sub>i</sub>, det var dumt at du<sub>i</sub> barberte deg;  
 hi D. it was sad that you shaved REFL.2  
 'Hi, D., it was sad that you shaved'

This brings us over to the last person feature, namely the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun. In chapter 5.1 I mentioned that I did not find any 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects among the Prescriptive Infinitives of the children. The problem with this kind of negative evidence is that it takes just one example to counter it. A quick search into the Simonsen corpus, supplied not one, but *three* examples of seemingly child Prescriptive Infinitives with an overt 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun.

- |                    |    |  |                |
|--------------------|----|--|----------------|
| (66) <sup>35</sup> | a. | og du lese en bok om meg<br>and you read.INF a book about me | Nora (2;03)    |
|                    | b. | du si det<br>you say.INF it                                  | Nora (2;04.10) |
|                    | c. | du gjøre<br>you do.INF                                       | Tomas (2;01)   |

Earlier I said that children at an early age master the prescriptive infinitive to a target-like level. These examples seem to paint another picture. However, Johannessen notes that Swedish and Faroese actually do allow 2nd person subjects in Prescriptive Infinitives (see also fn. 35).

- (67) a. inte skära **sig** / **dig** nu! (Swedish) (Johannessen, submitted)  
Not cut 3.REFL/2.REFL now  
'Don't cut yourself!'
- b. **Dú** / **Hjálmar** ikke fara! (Faroese)  
You/H. not go.INF  
'Don't you/Hjalmar go!'

I argue that 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are not prohibited, but rather that they are not preferred. Review example (50a), repeated here as (68).

- (68) det var lurt å PRO<sub>i</sub> barbere seg<sub>i</sub>//?meg<sub>i</sub>/???deg<sub>i</sub>  
EXPL was smart to pro shave refl.3/.1sg/.2sg  
'it was a good idea to shave'

As noted in the original discussion of this construction from page 85 and onwards, many Norwegians accept this construction with 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person reflexives, although the 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive seem to be the default. And in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive example, PRO can still refer to the addresser or the addressee, despite the only argument in the matrix clause being an expletive subject, which doesn't refer to anyone. Exactly how the control relation is established in examples like (68), needs further investigation (but see fn. 27 for a possible explanation), but I will propose that the PRO in (68) and the subject of Root Infinitives and

<sup>35</sup> There were a few other candidates as well, but I applied the same strict criteria as I applied for my data, regarding how to count finite vs. infinitive verbs. Also, in example (66c), the investigator immediately responds *du røre!* 'you stir.INF', which, **besides being a potential Prescriptive Infinitive with a 2nd person pronoun**, can indicate that the verb in example (66c) could also be *røre* 'stir' as it makes a minimal pair with *gjøre* 'do' with the consonants /r/ and /j/, the last one being one of the consonants children often use before they fully master the /r/ phoneme. In this case, the verb is not in the group of verbs I consider certain. Still, two examples are more than enough to counter the generalization made based on my own data.

Prescriptive Infinitives get their person features valued in the same way. As opposed to the example in (68), the Root Infinitive and Prescriptive Infinitive have the speech event participants,  $\Lambda A$  and  $\Lambda P$  encoded in their immediate CP, and by conjecture they can have an overt subject. Since the Root Infinitives have a non-finite  $T^\circ$ , as evident from the non-finite verb, we must assume that their person feature cannot be valued in the «standard» procedure presented in section 6.5.1.<sup>36</sup> This means that for the control infinitive, PRO by default gets 3<sup>rd</sup> person features, but in some cases can get 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> features. In the Prescriptive Infinitive and the Root Infinitive, this is the same, only with overt objects. The default is 3<sup>rd</sup> person by computation, but the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun is illicit for the reasons given above.<sup>37</sup> Therefore a lexical DP is inserted instead. However, the subject can sometimes be a 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun (as in Swedish, and possibly for some Norwegian speakers, cf. fn. 35). If the kind of control seen in (68), and by conjecture also in Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives, is a PF phenomenon, as proposed by Sigurðsson (2007) and Sigurðsson (2007), then this kind of variation between individuals and closely related languages is not unexpected.

The analysis can be summarised as in table 14.

- 
- a. Root Infinitives (RIs) and Prescriptive Infinitives (PIs) are infinitival clauses that have encoded the speech act participants in the C-domain ( $\Lambda A$  and  $\Lambda P$ ).
  - b. Because of (a), RIs and PIs can have overt subject, (i.e., does not require PRO).
  - c. Since the  $T^\circ$  of RIs and PIs is non-finite, person feature assignment to the subject can not be done in the same manner as in finite clauses, whereby 3<sup>rd</sup> person is used as default.
  - d. Since the third person pronoun is marked  $-\Lambda A$  and  $-\Lambda P$  it is illicit as the subject of PIs, since the subjects of PIs always refer to the addressee ( $+\Lambda P$ ) (except for the *få*-imperative). Therefore, a lexical DP is inserted instead.
  - e. Since the subject is not necessarily the addressee in Root Infinitives, 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun is not illicit in RIs.
  - f. As we saw in examples like (68) (control infinitives with impersonal superordinate

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<sup>36</sup> This is opposed to the European Portuguese inflected infinitive, where  $T^\circ$  obviously *does* inherit the person features from its immediate CP, as evident on the person agreement on the European Portuguese inflected infinitive. See example (52).

<sup>37</sup> Why the adult *få*-imperative seems to always get 1<sup>st</sup> person subjects (cf. the examples in (62)) needs further investigation. However, the subject is not very often overt in the *få*-imperative.

clauses), although 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive is preferred by default, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person reflexive are also acceptable.

- g. RIs and PIs are assigned person features in the same ways as in examples like (68), i.e., 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are un-preferred, but not ruled out.

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Table 14: Summary of the analysis of the person feature licensing of Root Infinitives and Prescriptive Infinitives

### 6.5.10 Conclusion of the section

In this section I have proposed an analysis of Root Infinitives and of Prescriptive Infinitives and argued that the former is induced by latter, which gives positive evidence that such specific non-finite structures are licit as root clauses. In section 2.2 I outlined an approach to the study of language acquisition where the difference between adult and child language is construed as incomplete (interpretation of the) input (2<sup>nd</sup> factor), and immature principles not specific to language (3<sup>rd</sup> factor). In this account I have sought to give an analysis of Root Infinitives exclusively based on 2<sup>nd</sup> factor explanations.

If the Root Infinitives are overgeneralizations induced by Prescriptive Infinitives, as suggested here, the decline of Root Infinitives, which probably happens in the age span 2;6 to 3;0), has the same explanation as any overgeneralization. The child learns that this special finiteness category is reserved for Prescriptive Infinitives. Also, as mentioned in section 3.2, Johannessen (submitted) notes that the Prescriptive Infinitive is generally reserved for special pragmatic contexts: «They are used in a very limited pragmatic context of a pleasant atmosphere by adults towards very young children, or towards pets or adults» (Johannessen, submitted). With time, the child somehow understands the limited pragmatic use of the Prescriptive Infinitive, which for children perhaps become limited to speech towards dolls and pets, since they hardly can be said to use child-directed speech themselves.

## 6.6 Root Infinitives and SLI

In this chapter I will try to answer research question 3, repeated here.

3. What impact will the analysis put forward in this thesis have on Root Infinitives as a diagnostic marker for Specific Language Impairment, in particular within the N-LARSP scheme?



A question that needs to be addressed before we can embark on research question 3, is whether Root Infinitives in SLI should be seen as delayed Root Infinitive stage as found in TD children and in my data, or a deviance (i.e. whether they behave differently). Bjerkan (2000) studied verb morphology in Norwegian SLI children using an experimental method, using the past tense elicited production test of Ragnarsdottir et al. (1999), which again is based on the methodology of the *wug*-test of Berko (1958), only with actual verbs instead of nonce words. She found that the SLI children's errors were not a lack of finite morphology, but rather that they used the wrong inflections (using other paradigms, the present tense form, or non-target verbs). These findings do not immediately seem to support a delay hypothesis.

Studying Swedish SLI children, using spontaneous speech, Hansson, Nettelbladt, and Leonard (2000) found that «[t]he majority of the errors of the children with SLI [...] were production of the infinitive» (p. 856), viz. the opposite of Bjerkan (2000). There is of course no a priori reason to exclude the possibility that these are language-specific differences between Norwegian and Swedish. This is however made highly unlikely by the fact that Swedish and Norwegian are so closely related that they are mutually understandable. I argue instead that the different methodologies are revealing to the question at hand. As I reported in section 5.3.5 and cross-linguistically, Root Infinitives seem to be predominantly used with a root modal meaning. In a spontaneous speech study, such as that of Hansson et al. (2000), the use of Root Infinitives to express some kind of root modality is available to the subjects. In the elicited production test of Bjerkan (2000), the stimuli was given as: «this is a man who knows how to VERB. He is VERBing. He did the same thing yesterday. What did he do yesterday?» (p. 66, cf the *wug*-test in section 4.1.2), whereby the expected response from the child is «he VERBed». These situations do not make the possibility of uttering a Root Infinitive, *qua* their root modal use, available for the child. This can indicate that a delay theory is correct after all, although more research is needed to verify this.

In this thesis I have argued that non-finiteness in Root Infinitives is not due to a deviant morphology, but that they have a syntactic structure of their own and a special (modal) use. In light of this we must conclude that Root Infinitives can only be used as a clinical marker for SLI with tests that encourage the use of Root Infinitive, e.g., all tests that rely on spontaneous speech, such as LARSP, but not necessarily tests that rely on elicited production, such as Hanne Gram Simonsen and Bjerkan (1998).

# 7 Conclusion and suggestions for further research

## 7.1 Choice of theoretical framework

The choice of framework of *any* study *can* be seen as an intellectual exercise or a personal preference (e.g., how well one by accumulated experience in scientific work finds that the framework meets one's expectations of scientific explanation and description). As such the choice of framework should not need to be justified beyond the reasons just mentioned. I will however try to justify my choice of framework in this thesis, and why I think it is particularly apt in describing my data.

I have chosen to analyse Root Infinitives in Norwegian within the framework of generative grammar. Particularly I have chosen to follow a strong version of the minimalist program (cf. sections 1.6 and 2.2). By making it possible to *atomize* the functions of finiteness as features and functional categories (cf. section 6.5), the generative framework has enabled me to make a specific analysis of the Root Infinitive (and the Prescriptive Infinitive) that is falsifiable within the same theoretical framework. Further it has enabled me to draw generalizations across different structures (the Root Infinitive and the Prescriptive Infinitive), and derive their differences based on their shared structure. This would not have been possible if I had used a pre-theoretic notion of «analogy» or «overgeneralization». In building on existing theories and analysis of finiteness, and proposing quite specific explanations, this work is *accumulative* in a way a pre-theoretic explanation could never have been.

Whether other frameworks could have provided a similarly satisfying explanation, will have to be the objective of the proponents of those theories.

## 7.2 Conclusion

In the beginning of this thesis I set up three main research questions, repeated here.

1. Is there a Root Infinitive stage in Norwegian child language?
2. How should Root Infinitives be understood within the theoretical framework of generative minimalist syntax?

- 2.1 To what extent do the four hypotheses outlined above (the small-clause hypothesis, the truncation hypothesis, the unique checking constraint hypothesis, and the modal drop hypothesis) give satisfactory analyses of Root Infinitives, both empirically and theoretically?
- 2.2 Can a more satisfactory analysis of the Root Infinitive be given, based on new data from Norwegian child language?
3. What impact will the analysis put forward in this thesis have on Root Infinitives as a diagnostic marker for Specific Language Impairment, in particular within the N-LARSP scheme?

In chapter 5 I showed empirically that there indeed *does* seem to be a Root Infinitive stage in Norwegian child language, thus answering research question 1.

In section 6.1–6.4 I reviewed the four hypotheses mentioned in research question 2.1. I concluded that none of them were completely satisfying, either empirically or theoretically or both. In section 6.5 I proposed a new analysis of Root Infinitives, within the Minimalist Context-Linked Grammar outlined in Sigurðsson (2004) and subsequent. I have proposed an analysis that explains Root Infinitives without the use of child specific grammatical processes. Instead I argue that Root Infinitives are a result of positive evidence that root clauses don't necessarily need finiteness, given by the Prescriptive Infinitives that are often used in child-directed speech (Johannessen, submitted). I have also argued, despite their differences, that Prescriptive Infinitives and Root Infinitives share much of the same structure.

Research question 3 was addressed in section 6.6, where I noted that the findings in this thesis, as well as my analysis, in light of two different studies of Root Infinitives in SLI children, seem to support a view where Root Infinitives in SLI are seen as a delayed, rather than deviant part of their language. This would however need further investigation of Root Infinitives in SLI children to be verified.

### **7.3 The limitations of this thesis**

Children acquiring any language have to learn many different language-specific rules and restrictions, many of which are interwoven. Very probably this also holds for the Root Infinitives. Unfortunately, the frames of a master's thesis have limited me to looking at Root

Infinitives and their characteristics in *isolation*. The nature of many of the adjacent phenomena that inevitably influence the Root Infinitives, such as V2 phenomena and *pro*- or topic-drop, are still being debated in the literature. This means that the analysis given in this thesis is at best *a part* of the picture. However, I would like to stress again the accumulative nature of this research, mentioned above. I will point out some possible roads ahead in the next section.

## 7.4 Further research

This thesis has made use of spontaneous speech, which has the advantage of enabling the researcher to investigate many different variables, such as null subjects, negation, *wh*-questions, and topicalizations. This is also the disadvantage of spontaneous speech: that other variables cannot be controlled for. An obvious next step is to utilize experimental methods, such as elicited production, to control for other variables, which otherwise influence each other.

In my analysis, I have assumed that the Prescriptive Infinitives in Norwegian have an important effect on child language acquisition. The frames of an MA thesis have inhibited me from investigating the frequency of Prescriptive Infinitives in the input of children acquiring Norwegian. That would be an obvious next step in the further investigation of Prescriptive Infinitives. Not just in Norwegian, but also in other languages that have Prescriptive Infinitives, especially those that also have Root Infinitives to find out whether my account is eligible cross-linguistically.

Regarding Root Infinitives in SLI, the possibility of drawing conclusions was limited by the fact that this thesis was based on typically developing language. Further investigations of Root Infinitives in SLI should be done with the same scrutiny on spontaneous speech from SLI children, as has been done in this and similar studies on TD children.

Lastly, the morphology of the dialect studied here has made it impossible to look at many variables, because the present and the infinitive form of the verb in many cases are so similar, being distinguished only by an /r/, which in addition is hard for children to pronounce. A similar study could profitably be performed in a dialect where the infinitive and the present form are less similar, so that fewer verbs would have to be excluded.

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### **Corpora**

The Simonsen corpus, based on Simonsen (1990)

(<http://chilides.psy.cmu.edu/browser/index.php?url=Germanic/>)

# Appendix

## **Appendix 1    Verbs with tone accent 1 in present tense (T1 verbs)**

bære	‘carry’
brenne	‘burn’
dette	‘fall’
finne	‘find’
grave	‘dig’
henge	‘hang’
hjelp	‘help’
komme	‘come’
legge	‘lay’
lese	‘read’
sette	‘put’
sitte	‘sit’
sove	‘sleep’
spise	‘eat’
treng	‘need’

## Appendix 2 The N-LARSP chart

a preliminary version, made available by Ingeborg B. Ribu (cf. Kristoffersen et al., forthcoming).

### Norsk LARSP (N-LARSP)

Navn:  
Fødselsdato:  
Opptaksdato:

Alder:  
Terapeut:  
Kommentarer:

<b>A. <u>Uanalyserbare ytringer</u></b>						
Uforståelig			Ufullstendig			
Avvikende			Tvetydig			
Minor			Repetisjoner			
<b>B. <u>Analyserbare ytringer</u></b>						
Totalt antall ytringer			MLU			
Nivå 1 0;9-1;6	N                      V                      Andre					
	<b>Setning</b>			<b>Frase</b>	<b>Ord</b>	
	<b>Spørsmål</b>	<b>Imperativ</b>	<b>Utsagn</b>		<b>Sammen- setninger</b>	<b>bøyning</b>
Nivå 2 1;6-2;0	S            V QX	V            Adv VX          NegV	SV    VO    VX AdvX    SVO SVAdv   VSAdv  NegX	Det+N    N+Gen DemPron PersPron	NN	Gen Def.sg
Nivå 3 2;0-2;6	VS(X)   QVS VauxSVO	VO(X)   VAdv	SVNegO OVS	V2       kopula V-refleksiv Vaux	VN AdvN	Pres Def.Pl. Adj.agr
Nivå 4 2;6-3;0	QVX    VSO QVO VauxSVX		Koord       Konj Relativ      SVOO	N-def+Pron Splitta frase	NNN	Perf.Part Pret.
Nivå 5 3;0-3;6	QVSO QVSAdv QVSGen VauxSVX	VAdvAdv	Utbrytning Presentering	Gjentatt subjekt		
Nivå 6 3;6-4;6			Sub Passiv (bli)			
Nivå 7 4;6 +	Diskurs Innledere: Vok            Konj            Sub			Syntaktisk forståelse		
	Rest			Rest		

## Appendix 3 The electronic application form

### Invitasjon til å delta i undersøkelse om grammatikkutvikling hos norske barn

Side 1

[Lenke til invitasjonsbrev](#)

[Lenke til prosjektets hjemmeside](#)

Kontakt oss på:  
[norsk-larsp@iln.uio.no](mailto:norsk-larsp@iln.uio.no)

Du må fylle ut ett skjema for hvert barn du vil melde på.

#### Barnets fødselsdato \*

dd.mm.åååå

#### Barnets kjønn \*

- ☐ Gutt  
☐ Jente

#### Fars høyeste utdanning \*

- ☐ Grunnskole  
☐ Videregående skole  
☐ Treårig høyskole-/universitetsutdanning  
☐ Femårig høyskole-/universitetsutdanning eller mer

#### Mors høyeste utdanning \*

- ☐ Grunnskole  
☐ Videregående skole  
☐ Treårig høyskole-/universitetsutdanning  
☐ Femårig høyskole-/universitetsutdanning eller mer

#### Fars dialektbakgrunn \*

- ☐ Østlandsk  
☐ Sørlandsk  
☐ Vestlandsk  
☐ Trøndersk  
☐ Nordnorsk  
☐ Annet

#### Mors dialektbakgrunn \*

- ☐ Østlandsk  
☐ Sørlandsk  
☐ Vestlandsk  
☐ Trøndersk  
☐ Nordnorsk  
☐ Annet

#### Jeg kan kontaktes på følgende e-postadresse: \*

**Jeg kan kontaktes på følgende telefonnummer:**

Nettskjema bruker informasjonskapsler. Les om hvorfor vi bruker informasjonskapsler og hvordan du kan reservere deg.

## Appendix 4    Invitational letter to the parents

### Grammatikkutvikling hos norske barn Et forskningsprosjekt ved Universitetet i Oslo



#### **Til foreldre eller foresatte:**

Vi henvender oss til dere i forbindelse med en undersøkelse av norske barns språkutvikling som vi trenger deres hjelp til. Undersøkelsen foregår ved Institutt for lingvistiske og nordiske studier, Universitetet i Oslo.

Vi ønsker å undersøke språktilegnelse hos barn mellom ett og fem år. Vi vil samle inn forskningsmateriale til undersøkelsen ved å gjøre lydopptak av barn i lekesituasjoner i deres eget hjem sammen med en forelder. For de fleste barna vil vi gjøre lydopptak to ganger, med seks måneders mellomrom. Hver opptaksrunde vil vare i max én time. Første gangen vil være i løpet av juni, og andre gangen i løpet av desember.

Det vil ikke ha noen konsekvenser i forhold til barnehagen om dere ikke ønsker at barnet deres skal delta.

#### **Formål**

Undersøkelsen vil danne grunnlag for den norske tilpasningen av LARSP (Language Assessment Remediation and Screening Procedure) ved å kartlegge språkutvikling hos enspråklige barn med normale kognitive ferdigheter. Vi får dermed et uvurderlig verktøy for å diagnostisere barn med språkvansker så tidlig som mulig, og gjøre det lettere for barnehagepedagoger/logopeder å gi rett behandling. Kunnskapen denne undersøkelsen bringer til veie, kan også brukes i forskning på tilegnelse av språk hos flerspråklige barn, og til å finne ut hvordan denne skiller seg fra språktilegnelse hos enspråklige barn.



Du kan lese mer om LARSP og prosjektet her:

<http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/tjenester/kunnskap/sprak/sprakvansker/kartlegging/larsp/>

### **Vinn et gavekort**

Vi kan dessverre ikke betale for deltakelse i prosjektet. Men alle som deltar i undersøkelsen vil kunne bli med på trekning av 2 universalgavekort med verdi 2000 kroner.

### **Kriterier**

Barnet og begge foreldre må ha norsk som morsmål. Dette er for å eliminere faktorer hvor barnets tilegnelse av norsk kan være påvirket av en annen samtidig språktilegnelse. I tillegg må det verken foreligge psykiske utviklingshemninger av noe slag, eller prematurt utviklingsforløp. Til sist er det viktig at barnet befinner seg i alderen 6 måneder til 5 år.

Deltakelsen er helt frivillig, og det er mulig å trekke seg når som helst. I det tilfellet vil alle innsamlede data og personopplysninger bli slettet.

### **Hvordan ta kontakt?**

Dersom dere er interesserte i å delta i undersøkelsen bes dere fylle ut nettskjemaet på følgende internettadresse:

<https://nettskjema.uio.no/answer/larsp.html>

På dette skjemaet ber vi dere om å oppgi kontaktinformasjon, og noen opplysninger om barnets og deres bakgrunn.

### **Hva vil skje med personopplysningene?**

Alt materiale dere gir oss vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Prosjektet varer til 31.12 2016. Etter dette vil navnelisten med deltakere slettes og personopplysninger i materialet omkodes slik at dataene ikke er knyttet til person, og ingen personer kan kjennes igjen. Dersom barnet deres er aktuelt for undersøkelsen, vil dere bli kontaktet så snart som mulig før 1. juni 2014.

### **Hilsen**

Bror-Magnus Sviland Strand

Morten Aase Løver

Ingeborg Ribu, Forskningsassistent

prof. Kristian Emil Kristoffersen

prof. Hanne Gram Simonsen, prosjektleder

## Appendix 5 Parental consent form

### Samtykkeerklæring til forskningsprosjektet

#### *”Undersøkelse av grammatiske ferdigheter hos barn”*

**Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?**

Deltakelse i denne studien innebærer at vi får ta opptak av deg og ditt barn i opptil en time

**Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?**

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Dataene vil bli kodet og koblingsnøkkelen vil bli lagret på en passordbeskyttet server som bare prosjektgruppa har tilgang til

Alle navn i opptaket vil bli sensurerte, og dere vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i publikasjoner.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.12.2016. Når prosjektet er slutført vil koblingsnøkkelen og alle personopplysninger bli permanent slettet, og opptakene vil forbli anonymiserte.

**Frivillig deltakelse**

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker ditt samtykke, vil alle opplysninger om deg og ditt barn, samt alle innsamlede data, bli slettet fra prosjektet.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og samtykker i at det kan gjøres lydopptak av mitt barn under de forutsetninger som er beskrevet over.

-----  
(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato og sted)

## Appendix 6    Legend: Transcription tags

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\$u, +u	Incomprehensible/unclear (independent and dependent)
#, ##, ###	Short, medium long, and long pause
+r	Repetition
+z	Repair
+t	Restart
+x	Non-norm form
\$n	Sensitive material
\$o	Onomatopoeia
+v	Whispering
...	Interrupted utterance
-	Interrupted word
+e	Echo
1, 2, 0	Accent tone 1, accent tone 2, and ambiguous accent tone

---

## Appendix 7    Number of ambiguous utterances in the data for each child

		<i>Number of ambiguous utterances</i>
STAGE III	Benedikte (2;01.06)	93
	Kari (2;02.07)	17
	Magnus 1 (2;03.10)	74
	Emil 1 (2;03.29)	90
	Anne 1 (2;04.02)	75
	Lucas 2 (2;04.02)	86
	Ingrid 1 (2;04.28)	53
	William (2;05.22)	93
STAGE IV	Oskar (2;06.04)	36
	Markus (2;08.06)	20
	Linnea (2;09.15)	16
	Magnus 2 (2;09.22)	18
	Sofie (2;09.28)	10
	Emil 2 (2;10;02)	32
	Ingrid 2 (2;10;28)	103
	Anne 2 (2;11.17)	24

## Appendix 8 List of ambiguous utterances in the data

<i>File</i>	<i>(Age)</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:06:01.446	nei # ikke snakke bebien
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:06:04.857	bebieen ikke snakke
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:07:40.256	traktor # kjøre
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:08:19.430	Ødrikke vann
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:09:09.661	§n (name2) +u 2sprekte ballong sin
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:09:12.961	+u (vil kke det) ha den
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:09:50.581	ta på bleia sin
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:09:54.764	+u (oioi) # skifte bleia
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:10:52.927	ta på bleia sin
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:11:05.969	tisse bleie
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:11:09.332	tissa bleie
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:11:31.124	bæsje
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:11:36.064	bæsje
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:12:30.205	+u krangle de
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:13:25.281	ta det dyr
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:13:31.561	se ta de
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:14:13.568	Øspise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:14:51.548	mamma +u (tatt) ...
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:14:54.874	mamma +u (tatt næri)
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:15:56.168	Kjøre klærne min
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:16:03.401	kjøre klærne din
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:17:12.061	Øsitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:17:39.816	låne denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:18:19.020	oi miste +x dupponen [duploen]
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:18:29.918	katten Øsitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:18:44.261	oi ikke +u l dette
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:19:01.041	+r (ta av) ta av denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:20:06.129	ta §u sekken din
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:20:50.179	se mer ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:20:52.057	se mer ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:21:16.882	se mer ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:21:42.902	+u (jeg vil) lukke igjen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:22:35.215	ta på bleie si
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:23:11.158	ee Øspise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:23:13.498	ikke Øspise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:23:26.743	se mer ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:23:28.631	se mer ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:23:46.995	hoppe
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:24:11.161	låne denne §u
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:24:14.714	+r lå- låne denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:24:17.969	låne denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:24:26.260	ikke låne denne, låne denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:25:04.224	bytte vi
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:25:22.760	bytte
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:25:26.606	gravemaskinen # det ## bytte vi
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:25:34.367	sånn # bytte vi
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:26:18.652	+e (2sove n) på traktorn
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:27:18.164	ikke ha den
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:28:51.698	sitt der 2sove
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:30:22.790	§u Øhenge sånn # +u denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:32:38.250	og jeg +u (høre til)
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:33:07.966	gå §u på §u
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:33:44.068	ikke +u les bok denne !
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:34:18.115	§u mamma Ølese
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:37:48.232	mamma se +u mere
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:39:23.221	basse borte # gjemme seg

Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:40:42.787	2lese ma- ...
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:40:55.095	§u 2lese den
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:41:17.413	se +u hvor pusekatt
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:42:56.906	fanget min 0lese mamman min
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:43:02.876	der er §u der er §u
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:43:31.668	ferdig ### 0lese denne boka
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:44:09.990	mamma bla
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:44:58.667	0lese +u bok
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:45:20.489	2male
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:45:22.049	nå 2male ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:46:05.558	bla litt meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:46:14.625	oi bla litt i denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:46:21.551	0spise §n (child)
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:46:35.160	2spise §u
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:46:41.016	bla den
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:46:42.592	bla litt meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:46:55.966	bla litt meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:50:33.446	her §u 2leser
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:50:48.906	ikke 0legge ikke +u elske bamsen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:50:54.575	ikke +u elske bamsen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:51:01.582	elske pappa elsk §u elske mamma
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:51:24.649	kose §u der
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:51:56.904	0bære meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:52:36.026	ringe pappa og §n (name1)
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:55:03.491	og ta av det denne +u bare
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:55:10.637	også ringe pappa pappa
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:55:24.812	pappa # gå på ski
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:55:32.343	mamma høre det
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:55:35.856	mamma høre det ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:55:40.345	mamma +r høre høre det ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:57:24.285	+r ba- bade §u
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:57:33.355	§u bade
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:57:55.601	+z nå ee 0lese +u den bebie
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:58:33.093	jeg mist denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:58:34.718	nei se mamma min §u !
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	00:59:23.467	ee gjemme seg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	01:00:11.117	+x sauren [dinosaur] oppå her gjemme seg

---

Kari	(2;02.07)	00:10:59.799	peke
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:15:16.737	1komme ut §u der
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:21:17.450	jeg få ikke tak i den
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:26:44.884	jeg fiska
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:30:21.038	+u den stå der
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:31:20.578	han bade den
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:31:23.381	+u bade den
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:31:33.603	han bade
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:31:39.926	han bade båten sin
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:31:43.078	han bade båten sin
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:31:52.461	prøve igjen
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:35:35.950	+u gjør
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:40:14.125	ha gjemt seg
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:41:31.491	ha gjem- ...
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:41:33.676	ha gjemt seg
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:44:00.527	mamma gjemme seg
Kari	(2;02.07)	00:48:28.322	prøve +t mamma prøve den

---

Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:01:30.970	+u (ha lite tossen [klossen] ha lite tossen [klossen])
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:02:16.484	+r (boj [bor] i) bo- ....
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:02:27.486	boj i hu- ....
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:03:34.956	§u kjøje
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:06:11.185	denne +u tar ut
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:06:13.595	denne +u tar ut

Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:06:52.337	ta den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:07:05.196	§u §n ta den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:08:14.893	2sitte # og jedde seg oi opp ned
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:08:22.578	og 0sitte
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:08:36.820	jeg bydde [bygge] tårn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:08:43.283	jeg bydde [bygge] tårn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:08:46.572	bydde [bygge] tårn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:07.250	+x åpe
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:09.270	+x åpe på
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:11.400	åpen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:12.940	åpen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:14.490	åpen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:15.850	åpen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:54.610	å ta §u den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:11:36.636	+u ramler
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:14:02.109	0sette på igjen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:16:02.442	nei §u +u tegne
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:16:05.342	§u (tegne)
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:16:23.062	+r (og sitt-) og 0sitte bordet
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:16:34.014	+u tegne
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:18:28.185	jeg tegne brun
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:18:31.229	tegne brun A
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:18:36.595	+r (pappa tegn-) pappa tegne brun A
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:11.372	tegne P
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:18.001	tegne den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:20.649	tegne gul A
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:31.187	tegne gul B
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:33.086	tegne gul B
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:42.070	+u tegner
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:27.176	tegne M
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:28.870	tegne gul M
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:31.179	tegne gul ...
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:00:09.641	ta oppi der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:01:57.911	pappa også 0lese
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:02:34.432	+u (ligge oppi loftet)
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:03:13.500	jeg stå pappa
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:03:24.700	klatre opp
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:03:55.544	klatre opp
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:04:21.970	§u +r stå stå
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:07:02.780	bygge tårn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:08:06.390	putte oppi der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:43.678	ee +r mormor mormor laga
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:50.810	laga
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:09:52.275	laga
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:11:15.873	ta inni der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:16:02.073	også denne +u kjøre §u
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:16:04.610	denne kjøre
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:07.828	ta den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:25.732	+u (der bor den)
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:34.672	+u (det er) apekatt
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:43.980	denne stå
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:50.203	0sitte passe §u
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:19:54.267	0sitte passe ...
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:09.331	stå gravemaskinen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:11.340	stå gravemaskinen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:19.471	mormor laga
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:22.278	mormor laga
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:20:31.919	§u grave i sanda
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:21:59.890	også pusle den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:22:02.767	også pusle den

Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:22:09.126	pusle stor hesten
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:22:14.606	puste # ape
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:22:22.138	+z de- +z de- prøve +r de- der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:25:38.149	+u (den er) ## opp ned
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:27:13.247	pusle flodhesten
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:27:26.351	pusle prinsessen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:28:47.962	§u 2sitte på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	00:29:37.300	+z (jeg ferd-) +z (jeg ferd-) rydde mer
<hr/>			
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:00:26.925	jeg skal ## det er dame
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:01:13.239	se han 0spise
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:01:15.499	han 0spise en gulrot
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:02:29.227	+r jeg ee jeg prompa
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:03:11.550	den kræsjet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:03:15.130	den kræsjet med gravemaskinen
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:03:37.230	han kjøre
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:06:13.184	sitte samme med hest på fredag
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:06:44.580	+u (jeg må ta på jeg sette på traktoren)
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:06:52.273	jeg hoppe høyet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:07:40.192	nå +u kræsje gravemaskinen med traktoren
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:08:07.571	nå pennen kjøre
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:01.346	§u jeg skal kjøre den
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:23.118	han kræsja med gravemaskinen
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:11:43.777	det er pusekatten
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:11:49.545	nei det er hund
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:11:56.311	nei det er fugl
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:12:03.975	det +u si han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:12:43.477	han vil §u en liten tur
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:13:46.087	det er meg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:13:53.321	det er du og meg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:14:09.244	der sitte med gravemaskinen
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:14:47.136	nå kjøre han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:15:14.261	den kræsja med traktoren
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:15:20.623	den kræsja med traktoren
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:16:41.886	han kræsjet med ...
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:17:19.351	den lukke døra på den og
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:17:55.547	han kræsja med deg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:18:00.867	den kræsja sammen med ## +r med deg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:20:36.326	han hete tiger
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:22:00.883	han skal §u
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:22:29.179	nei han sitte fast
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:22:48.045	hva spise han ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:22:51.622	hva ... han 0spise ikke sånn
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:22:57.270	han 0spise ikke sånn
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:23:01.941	han 0spise bare sånn
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:23:11.894	det er en # panda
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:24:20.925	også kjøre han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:24:55.870	bytte med dinosauren
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:25:21.777	nå +u kjører han på deg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:25:25.466	der komme bilveier
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:26:05.469	nå kjøre han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:26:37.699	den kræsje med traktoren
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:27:14.380	ja ## +u (og så) helle ut han den sanda
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:27:25.641	+z på ## helle den på drammen
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:27:40.179	han kræsja med traktoren
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:28:01.255	han kræsjet med traktoren
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:29:21.200	traktoren klare å løfte traktoren opp
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:00:31.111	det er trollet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:04:53.520	han stange trollet ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:05:00.406	§u bukke bruse stange trollet ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:05:10.099	+u (det er) baby-bukke bruse



Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:05:19.521	det er store-bukke bruse
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:05:21.845	og det er lil- ... +t det er største bukke bruse
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:05:39.711	da stanga trollet ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:06:00.196	hva hvis # trollet stanga ned mens han går opp # mens han stanga trollet men # han skal +u stukket mens han løper
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:06:29.450	§u bukkene bruse stanga ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:07:04.249	da # dra han til seters
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:07:19.290	da si bukkene bruse bare kom da sa trollet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:07:55.900	men den ... da gå han videre
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:08:16.224	det er trollet som # +f (hva er det som tramper på min bro)
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:08:24.683	det er lille bukkene bruse
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:08:33.522	det er ... +z de- (hva gjør han ? )
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:09:09.042	da stanga trollet ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:09:22.550	det er lille bukkene bruse stanger
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:09:36.702	han som stange han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:09:41.202	han stange trollet ned på det
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:09:51.170	han ligne på kaptein sabeltann
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:09:58.296	han ligne på han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:00.805	han ligne på kaptein sabeltann
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:03.528	han ligne på pinky og
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:06.953	ja # han ligne på langemann og
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:15.621	han ligne på kaptein sabeltann og pinky
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:40.015	+r det det er trollet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:10:49.917	pappa +u (vi gå) liten tur
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:11:12.252	det er munnene
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:12:02.921	+u (ja jeg) ønsker en traktor
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:12:23.190	nei du ønske # en sånn
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:12:45.649	det er +u (den lille bukken bruse) stange trollet ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:13:20.282	nå bite han deg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:13:36.867	det er løven
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:13:40.891	det er løven
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:13:50.229	+u (kan jeg få) +r en en bolle
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:14:04.106	spare resten annen dag
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:14:57.260	og ta med den ved siden av meg ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:15:26.896	ja jeg skal §u alene jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:15:53.618	§u ta med §u
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:16:57.504	sånn nå komme dere
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:18:01.408	det er ihvertfall # dama
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	00:18:59.220	den §u +u komme ikke ut
<hr/>			
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:01:25.210	+u (det kunne traktoren) ta mat fra +u (bordet)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:01:46.995	§u ikke se
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:01:57.251	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:02:49.009	er det §u her ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:03:12.783	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:03:15.716	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:03:18.946	§n (child) kan kynge den
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:03:25.421	§n (investigator) kan kynge den på hesten
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:03:46.105	hynge hesten !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:04:09.679	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:04:13.082	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:04:15.482	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:04:17.721	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:04:21.584	kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:04:27.638	§n (Investigator) kan kynge den !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:05:54.957	§n (child) ha fått der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:05:59.798	§n (child) ha §u der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:06:17.810	+u (kommer Tine i dag) ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:07:45.936	+e ville ha den nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:08:17.500	+u (jeg ha) +u flere biler på ...

Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:08:59.190	§u se nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:09:22.884	jeg §u ha +u flere biler
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:11:59.425	bil +u skal ødelagt
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:12:02.640	+u hjulet ødelagt nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:12:06.273	+u hjulet ødelagt nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:12:09.509	+u bilen ødelagt
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:12:44.785	toget må ikke §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:16:17.990	+u (den skal) der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:16:19.987	+u (den skal) der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:16:48.914	ikke +u §n (child) ha §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:19:20.508	jeg rydde
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:19:48.705	§n (Child) kan §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:20:46.044	§u den er min
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:22:38.961	kræsje bilen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:24:12.048	se !
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:24:18.568	+u (nå jeg 2lese)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:25:58.449	det er §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:26:18.232	§n (investigator) +u kan få den nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:26:30.347	jeg kan §v
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:28:04.820	det er §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:28:27.938	§n (investigator) ta på
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:29:06.354	+z (§u) jeg +u (kan lag kjempehøyt)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:00:46.852	ha bukke-bruse ...
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:01:44.125	jeg §u 2lese bok
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:06:19.470	+u (2finne der)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:06:38.260	§n (Child) bake
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:06:39.934	det §n (Child) bake
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:06:42.053	det §n (Child) bake
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:06:44.407	det §n (Child) bake
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:10:38.874	krasje bilen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:10:46.501	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:10:48.890	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:10:50.590	kjøre på det her
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:10:54.992	kjøre på
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:10:56.711	kjøre på §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:11:02.591	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:11:52.131	bare kjøre bilen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:11:57.383	bare kjøre bilen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:13:00.925	+u (bil kan) kjøre begge to nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:14:48.550	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:14:58.138	+u kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:16:00.552	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:16:04.297	kjøre der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:16:13.006	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:16:18.335	§u kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:17:34.955	jeg kjøre på
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:17:41.137	§u ferdig kjøre vogna
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:17:49.700	+u (baby kan få vannet)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:17:53.300	+u (baby kan få vannet)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:18:27.020	§n (Child) §u gjøre det
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:22:58.840	se §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:23:01.330	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:23:02.270	kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:25:40.914	+u (det er) # pusekatt på
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	00:26:10.761	jeg §u fikse den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:01:56.603	+u (er gravemaskin)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:01:58.166	og musa +u er oppå gravemaskinen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:02:30.792	jeg kjøre på foten
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:02:34.567	jeg kjøre kjøre +u traktor
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:02:39.451	jeg kjøre den hodet

Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:02:43.380	jeg kjøre den på hodet
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:04:37.164	ja jeg +u reparere
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:04:51.757	nå 0komme traktoren
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:04:58.896	nå §n (inv) +u kjøre
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:05:01.000	jeg +x reppe [reparere] den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:05:48.358	hm va kke §u på traktoren
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:06:10.481	+u (jeg ha den å låne)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:06:32.518	nei reparere gravemaskinen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:06:42.533	§u +u kjøre ånei
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:07:31.593	gå # §u traktoren
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:07:33.981	§u jeg låne §u
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:07:41.798	+u (den er) nå ferdig
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:08:27.727	§u jeg +x reppe [reparere] den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:08:30.274	+u reparer
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:08:33.814	jeg +x reppe [reparere] den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:09:23.915	§n (inv) +u leke med den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:09:41.463	og jeg lage det gravemaskiner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:09:45.454	og lage
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:09:54.370	oi den +t §n (inv) lage den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:10:12.535	og +r (den gra-) ## den 0grava
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:11:31.938	ikke det se på n
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:12:20.742	+r (jeg og) jeg og reparere
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:12:24.723	jeg og reparere
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:12:33.590	jeg hent- ...
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:13:14.716	§u 1komme traktor
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:13:38.928	dette bare §u ikke ble redd for n
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:13:52.057	det er bare meg §u 0grave
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:14:32.456	nei denne ta meg
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:16:13.808	eller så har jeg §u mi
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:17:13.337	pandan ha smukken
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:18:12.032	hente bilen min
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:18:20.065	hente §u ...
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:18:23.086	hente ...
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:19:49.884	nå ha jeg ikke her
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:20:05.207	leter §u apen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:21:06.872	må jeg §u ...
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:21:35.634	jeg §u +u sjekke
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:21:39.013	jeg sjekke
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:23:47.034	+u (jeg redder deg)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:24:36.106	der +l 0brenne
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:24:39.882	der +l brenn §l
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:25:08.225	ringe tamassann [brannmann sam]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:27:06.054	lage opp igjen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:28:48.511	kan ...
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:29:18.359	bygge opp igjen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:29:54.444	ygge [bygge] opp igjen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:30:51.988	+u (og 0lese bok)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:00:05.015	ikke se på bukke bruse
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:00:10.294	se på annet
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:01:37.583	se på aent bok
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:02:02.990	jeg 0spise mat
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:03:38.179	+u (jeg vil) leke den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:04:19.345	oi +u trille den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:05:38.646	oi den virke ikke
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:05:50.265	§u §n (investigator) lov å reparere
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:09:39.657	bare trille runt
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:10:59.539	jeg +u (klare få ut)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:11:09.487	klare få n ut
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:11:10.614	klare få n ut
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:11:35.314	lukke gjen den

Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:11:51.520	jeg må §u
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:15:35.558	+u (bli så redd)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:15:38.869	+u (bli så redd)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:17:04.198	tante §n (name) bo der
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:17:15.815	tante §n (name) bo der
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:18:14.976	den snu den veien
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:18:45.699	den 0sitte oppå den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:19:21.685	§u ta løven nå
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:19:28.182	reparere nå
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:20:45.850	+u (det) brant i traktoren min
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:23:03.162	ja jeg +x tøla [søla] foten min
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:24:39.762	jeg vise deg
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:26:05.701	jeg +x 0blåsse [blåse]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:27:13.230	+u (kom jeg) vise deg
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:28:22.267	jeg ringe
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:28:25.377	jeg gå +e (en gang)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:28:31.023	gå en gang
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:28:35.951	jeg gå en gang
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:28:59.527	ringe brannmann sam
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:29:09.236	ringe oppå +u (den her)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	00:29:50.934	+x dæ brenner
<hr/>			
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:00:47.441	§u 2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:00:54.471	han gå trappa
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:01:01.855	han gå trappa
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:01:05.440	ee da gå trappa §u
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:01:46.104	vaske den gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:01:52.937	den mannen der gå trappa traktoren
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:03:23.464	han gå trappa
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:03:26.219	han gå trappa
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:03:30.587	han gå 2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:04:10.751	§u 0sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:04:18.644	jeg +u kjører +u mer
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:04:39.890	og han gå trappa
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:04:50.040	ja gå trappa # kjøre # hund # sitte
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:04:56.319	og jeg +u gå der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:05:52.298	+u (jeg vil finne) skjeen
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:06:09.234	jeg §u # er pappa sin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:06:31.270	+u (jeg tar og spise jente)
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:07:00.454	§u gå
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:07:07.194	jeg ha en hund
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:09:02.378	leke
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:09:17.481	den gå der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:11:30.813	der løve +u 1sitter
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:12:19.598	ha flere
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:12:54.221	+u (den må ut)
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:13:57.164	ja # katten min # 0dette +u ned
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:14:05.032	jeg gå der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:14:06.906	gå der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:14:58.270	ja tiit [tigergutt] # 0spise
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:19.819	kjøre det traktoren
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:34.390	§u tiggut [tigergutt] 2spise
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:40.493	tatte med
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:44.732	mate tiit [tigergutt]
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:47.710	mat tiit [tigergutt]
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:57.797	han 0dette ned
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:16:02.730	§u er morten sin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:16:20.935	§u er +x din
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:17:13.870	+u (det er mu [ku])
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:17:45.216	+z elg +u (det er en elg) +r elg på +u (der)
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:20:22.332	jeg kjøre

Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:02:03.995	+u (der er det)
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:02:09.040	§u der også # må vi spise
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:04:00.214	bo trollet der ?
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:06:16.754	den +u bo der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:08:40.432	kaste
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:08:51.126	§u pappa lbære
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:08:57.147	§l kaste morten
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:09:01.398	og pappa +u bare kaste morten
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:10:45.381	+u +e (virke ikke)
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:14:45.050	og den bæsje
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:14:47.991	den bæsje
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:14:51.091	gå der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:19.275	gå der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	00:15:24.834	den gå der

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William	(2;05.22)	00:03:55.045	§u se !
William	(2;05.22)	00:04:27.975	det stå der
William	(2;05.22)	00:05:58.343	ha på bleie
William	(2;05.22)	00:06:01.879	§u sjekke bleie
William	(2;05.22)	00:06:05.399	sjekke bæsje
William	(2;05.22)	00:06:25.642	stå der
William	(2;05.22)	00:08:28.592	å kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:08:43.017	reven 0sitte fast
William	(2;05.22)	00:08:51.628	se §u 2sitte fast
William	(2;05.22)	00:09:12.154	n gå ned
William	(2;05.22)	00:09:15.706	gå opp
William	(2;05.22)	00:09:53.278	og kræsje
William	(2;05.22)	00:09:54.710	de kræsje
William	(2;05.22)	00:09:58.271	kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:09:59.111	kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:10:00.323	kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:10:29.624	nei ikke ødelegge traktoren
William	(2;05.22)	00:11:29.643	kjøre +u bil
William	(2;05.22)	00:12:12.308	§u klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	00:12:17.401	den kjøre oppe +r oppe
William	(2;05.22)	00:13:10.363	og +u grave hadet
William	(2;05.22)	00:13:16.891	kjøre gravemaskin
William	(2;05.22)	00:13:28.919	oi # kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:13:37.405	kjøre den # hadet
William	(2;05.22)	00:13:53.676	kjøre opp der
William	(2;05.22)	00:13:56.323	han putte opp der
William	(2;05.22)	00:14:28.401	§u +u borte kjør
William	(2;05.22)	00:14:31.724	klar +r klar kjøre lastebilen
William	(2;05.22)	00:14:52.781	kjøre tilbake
William	(2;05.22)	00:14:54.411	kjøre tilbake
William	(2;05.22)	00:14:56.733	kjøre tilbake
William	(2;05.22)	00:14:59.150	kjøre tilbake
William	(2;05.22)	00:15:01.936	kjøre tilbake
William	(2;05.22)	00:15:17.336	og kjøre tilbake
William	(2;05.22)	00:15:42.771	der +u er katt
William	(2;05.22)	00:16:18.809	katten kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:16:39.652	kjør tilbake
William	(2;05.22)	00:16:42.291	+u kjør tilbake lastebilen
William	(2;05.22)	00:17:15.846	han kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:18:17.333	det 0sitte fast
William	(2;05.22)	00:18:48.190	gå
William	(2;05.22)	00:19:00.985	kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:19:03.798	§u kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:19:07.040	kjøre tilbake lastebilen §u
William	(2;05.22)	00:19:41.857	kjøre tilbake

William	(2;05.22)	00:20:00.914	opp løve +u (kan se)
William	(2;05.22)	00:20:03.931	de oppe løve +u (kan se)
William	(2;05.22)	00:20:37.489	han # §u ble +x lemme
William	(2;05.22)	00:21:33.689	katten få +x lemme (være med)
William	(2;05.22)	00:21:35.635	den få +x jemme (være med) kaffe
William	(2;05.22)	00:21:40.564	+u han få +x jemme (være med) hesten
William	(2;05.22)	00:21:42.925	få +x jemme (være med)
William	(2;05.22)	00:21:57.198	+u hun ### +r +u (å flytte) å flytte mann under panda # hun
William	(2;05.22)	00:22:06.001	få +x jemme (være med) +z p- løven
William	(2;05.22)	00:22:09.524	få +x jemme (være med) løven
William	(2;05.22)	00:22:37.991	+x lemme (være med) sau
William	(2;05.22)	00:22:41.143	få +x lemme (være med)
William	(2;05.22)	00:22:45.723	der +u (være her)
William	(2;05.22)	00:23:24.727	eehm bygge bane
William	(2;05.22)	00:23:41.854	tiger væ
William	(2;05.22)	00:24:02.217	+u hete tiger
William	(2;05.22)	00:24:15.489	+x vemme (være med)
William	(2;05.22)	00:26:36.690	+u hete +e kart
William	(2;05.22)	00:26:40.621	+u hete
William	(2;05.22)	00:27:00.804	+u (litt oppe banen ## hoppe opp sånn # opp sånn kanskje)
William	(2;05.22)	00:27:47.242	§u var det ?
William	(2;05.22)	00:31:18.820	+u klart det
William	(2;05.22)	00:32:54.539	den ha bleie
William	(2;05.22)	00:32:57.343	§u ha bleie
William	(2;05.22)	00:33:06.929	ku ha den
William	(2;05.22)	00:33:10.102	ha denne
William	(2;05.22)	00:33:11.946	ku ha denne
William	(2;05.22)	00:38:58.134	+e +u synger
William	(2;05.22)	00:39:24.580	§u +u fant
William	(2;05.22)	00:39:26.678	+u fant det
William	(2;05.22)	00:41:35.549	og +u (gjør) sånn
William	(2;05.22)	00:41:37.900	og +u (gjør) sånn
William	(2;05.22)	00:41:50.713	jeg banke
William	(2;05.22)	00:41:55.401	det banke
William	(2;05.22)	00:44:41.082	+u (og her var +v det ...)
William	(2;05.22)	00:50:09.597	+u var skummel
William	(2;05.22)	00:50:20.407	+u (pappa se) !
William	(2;05.22)	00:50:21.450	+u og banka
William	(2;05.22)	00:51:47.574	kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:51:48.850	båten kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	00:51:53.457	den Øsitte fast
William	(2;05.22)	00:52:08.197	klare §u
William	(2;05.22)	00:54:46.641	+x (hvor er) # den
William	(2;05.22)	00:56:11.214	og rydde den
William	(2;05.22)	00:56:15.652	rydde
William	(2;05.22)	00:56:17.454	rydde +u (mamma sin)
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Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:11:48.980	kanskje +u komme her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:12:56.800	vise først
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:12:58.650	§u min har klistremerker
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:13:12.560	§u den kan §u ute
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:15:29.550	+u jeg vise boka mine ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:15:54.360	den har §u sånn her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:15:58.580	er det ... ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:16:07.270	har §u her ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:16:38.190	jeg Øsitte §u bok
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:16:56.620	var den ...
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:16:58.170	også var en ...
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:18:20.390	dette klistremerker kommer kke på +r (bare fly) bare fly
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:20:02.700	§u går ikke
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:20:17.010	den få den

Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:20:39.380	hm ? få opp
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:20:42.770	kanskje vi kan ...
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:21:33.090	oi §u den kommer
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:21:38.740	jeg vise deg
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:21:46.420	det gå kke
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:22:00.570	§u lkommer gravemaskinen
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:22:01.820	+u (ehm kommer sånn)
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:22:04.400	nå kommer §u og vise deg
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:22:17.660	+e den §u gravemaskinen er ute
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:00:34.468	jeg høre det her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:02:19.219	her går det ... her Økomme plaster ### ja
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:02:26.668	jeg +u ha det på plaster
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:02:45.502	+e (bukkene bruse kommer brua)
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:03:11.475	da trollet si §u sånn
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:04:36.648	ja jeg så §u baby
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:04:45.160	+u (nei går ikke)
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:05:54.711	den fly
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:06:18.460	§u her lkomme +u inni sånn
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:06:31.717	+u (den gått) sånn ut sånn
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:08:29.031	han bare Økomme se der
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:08:53.881	+u (jeg tror det)
Oskar	(2;06.04)	00:09:16.714	løve ...§u da kommer §u her
<hr/>			
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:04:06.915	løve som jeg får §u da
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:06:10.634	også ha den sånt
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:06:25.370	da blir han §u
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:07:03.854	ee +z (jeg har en) du har en ...
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:07:07.974	ja +r (den) den gravemaskinen den bombe han
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:07:43.720	men han klare å si unnskyld til elgen
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:08:19.012	jaha ha du en ting til ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:08:49.800	fordi jeg fikk ikke §u den
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:08:55.501	jeg fikk ikke §u den
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:09:25.668	han heter ...
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:13:58.882	den kan §u
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:14:11.900	da den Øsove §u
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:14:17.696	§u den blir trøtt
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:14:39.180	der er ...
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:15:16.962	hva hete den mannen ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:06:15.394	den ha på paraply
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:06:20.880	han ha på horn
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:06:24.800	ha +z p- der på hodet sitt
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:07:42.757	+r (jeg ha-) jeg pleier å ha bleiebukse +r på på beina
Markus	(2;08.06)	00:08:27.364	hva hete den der ?
<hr/>			
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:03:56.638	+u (også skal jeg gi iskrem til mammaen min)
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:06:16.456	+u hopper
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:06:31.366	leke med de
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:08:17.532	hvorfor ta du den ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:10:16.267	hoppe løveunge
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:12:28.370	mamma jeg spille musikk
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:14:02.381	og der bo h- +z han
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:16:04.925	jeg ha kakett ditt
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:18:59.310	+u (hun bor ...)
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:23:07.554	kanskje vi ta den ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:00:09.840	hva hete hun ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:11:57.848	au jeg Øsitte fast
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:22:52.265	den heter §u
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:26:40.219	nå +u må jeg prøve å øve §u
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:27:29.196	§u holder den her
Linnea	(2;09.15)	00:27:42.451	§u løfte
<hr/>			
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:17:25.685	nå hjelpa jeg toby

Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:17:29.331	ha på +u seg en hatt
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:17:49.530	nei # nå +u regne jeg
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:17:54.733	du regne på du også
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:18:13.092	nei nå begynne vi å regne
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:19:45.935	jeg şu samle alt şu
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:20:00.388	han ha stygge tenner
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:20:27.128	+u (det er) sau
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:30:24.559	noen kjøre den
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:31:11.623	så +u kjempet seg ned
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:31:19.714	+u (da bare han) kjører traktoren på plass
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:31:52.334	nei jeg mista ut +u trakt- ...
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:32:44.978	da bare +u tar den # der inn
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:33:26.381	nei jeg mista kattepusen igjen
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:35:03.826	åh han må gå ette- ... +t nei den Ositte f- +t du # +t şu få det !
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:38:32.623	jeg kle av
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:39:59.471	det syns han # det er +u (for rettere)
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	00:42:07.155	er det e- ...
<hr/>			
Sofie	(2;09.28)	00:11:14.108	+s (sove lille şu)
Sofie	(2;09.28)	00:12:13.310	her Ofinner +u steffany den
Sofie	(2;09.28)	00:12:38.094	ee jeg Olegger på mitt rom
Sofie	(2;09.28)	00:13:24.194	det gå ikke an
Sofie	(2;09.28)	00:14:21.427	ee leke
Sofie	(2;09.28)	00:03:46.870	og jeg få litt drikke av mammaen min
Sofie	(2;09.28)	00:06:57.748	regne ikke nå vel mamma
<hr/>			
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:11:17.978	+u (da blir gravemaskinen redd)
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:12:31.563	+u (jeg vet ikke)
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:12:36.630	kjøre traktoren sin
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:12:51.300	şu traktoren så alle kan ake på snøen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:12:58.006	han åpne dørene
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:13:04.494	og steng +u den igjen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:13:27.822	kjør- ...
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:13:29.478	han kjør- ...
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:13:45.650	nå +z (kjører han) kjøre gravemaskinen şu
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:16:05.977	den ha +z bæs- # tissa
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:16:56.660	for han syns at løven # og elgen # og +u kattepusen syns +z (at de)
			+z (at pandabjørnen) at de her er skumle
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:17:56.900	nei han falt i vannet [vann- +v -et]
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:19:01.183	ønske meg sånn
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:19:09.790	+u å gjøre det nå ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:19:18.661	+u (jeg veit kke)
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:04:31.730	hva er şu her ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:07:46.626	mamma jeg +u vil ha vann
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:09:12.940	+u du fortell om bukkene bruse ## nå !
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:09:53.884	mamma ha den
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:10:21.207	jo +u mamma fortelle
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:12:03.626	og nå ikke lidde [rydde] den
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:12:07.470	+u (jeg sa) ikke lydde [rydde] den
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:12:40.945	jeg ønske lynet mcqueen og bil til jul
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:14:13.961	vil du væ me og se +r om +r om ## om løven er i senga mi ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:14:41.660	mamma ## mamma vi +u (kan kke) slå av lyset
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:15:00.815	ja jeg lydda [rydda] på rommet mitt
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:15:06.920	+u du prøve han ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:15:10.988	nei
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:15:14.483	+u (her kan) inne på rommet mitt
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:15:40.627	nei røre seg ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:17:35.940	jeg hete şn (Child)
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	00:17:44.541	vil hjem şu
<hr/>			
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:00:09.834	ha på sånn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:00:39.701	den ha brun sånn



Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:01:03.452	+r (mamma ha) mamma ha brun
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:01:35.080	mm og bruka jeg hjerte
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:01:41.287	og +u mummi ha jeg
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:01:43.502	dame ha jeg
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:04:27.170	kaste hun
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:05:34.073	du må +u grave lykketrollen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:05:43.061	jeg må kaste den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:06:27.699	da grava på den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:06:36.902	+u (de 2grave)
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:06:56.081	mistet den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:06:59.700	grav grav grav
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:07:32.240	hun blinke
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:07:33.790	+r hun hun kaste sånn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:08:01.897	hun må bu- ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:08:11.574	hun blinke
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:08:14.094	hun blinke
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:10:31.875	har ... ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:12:12.084	+u (jeg vil) kjøre
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:12:19.289	+u tatt der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:12:52.598	+u +z (ble de) hun bi [bli] stor
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:13:39.964	§u 2djave [grave]
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:14:49.712	den 0spise gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:15:53.490	ja panda ## like hun gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:15:59.978	nei hun like kke n
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:16:15.622	hun 0bise [spise] kjøtt
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:31.297	hun smile
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:51.137	nei bare kjøre på morten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:18:42.942	men det gå kke an bli hun lei seg
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:19:19.144	jeg få +x mokka [smokken] etterpå
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:19:39.242	bygge den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:19:41.377	bygge den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:20:12.220	+r hun hun grava
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:21:35.953	det brukt gravemaskinen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:22:20.528	+u (jeg vil ha esken)
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:25:11.016	ta på tigeren
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:25:16.641	det ta på n
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:25:18.726	ta på tigeren
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:25:54.038	jeg skifte på han
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:26:03.881	jeg klare skifte på tigern
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:26:56.476	få beinet ut der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:27:26.059	jeg ha barnehagebleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:27:34.021	og ikke jeg skifte på bleie på hun
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:27:51.139	ha du mere bleier ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:27:57.738	jeg vil +z ha feste §u ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:28:18.823	+r (bruke jeg) bruke jeg nattbleie på natta
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:28:25.606	ikke ta på s- ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:29:08.580	jeg ta på den bleia
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:30:07.229	vi 0trenge kke mere
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:00:00.000	+u (du må) lese med troll
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:01:57.451	hun tame poteten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:02:38.885	hun 2lage på sånn grønnsaker
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:02:44.806	hun 2lage grønnsak- ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:04:01.962	+r hun hun sprute på mons
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:04:25.343	+r hun +r hun mons sprute på mona
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:05:23.464	+r hun hun rører
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:05:53.447	tom ikke røre
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:06:06.355	hun +x dri [driver] med å henter den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:06:17.460	hun kasta
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:07:34.422	hun kasta
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:07:46.304	hun kasta på golvet

Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:08:15.688	+z hun hun skylle poteten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:08:19.693	hun +r pappa pappa til mons hun skylle poteten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:08:28.105	nesta side dra
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:08:59.985	+u biser
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:11:18.372	ikke ta skoa mine
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:12:24.120	smake pepperkake
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:13:25.808	ha på den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:13:30.399	må ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:13:39.456	nå +u skal hun ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:13:41.633	han må §u
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:13:57.790	nå jeg skifte bleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:14:00.922	hun ha to utebleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:14:22.052	det hete teddybjørn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:14:50.312	vi prøve en gang til
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:14:53.661	må jeg §u
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:14:56.770	+z (jeg skal) morten ta på egen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:15:00.249	du ta på egen du
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:15:23.093	Ohjelpe ta på siden
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:15:56.905	+z ta ta på en gang til
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:16:01.914	du må ta på egen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:16:36.468	ta på den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:16:57.485	jeg vise til morten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:12.222	+z (ta på) ta på egen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:14.924	§u ta på egen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:17.162	+u skal du ta på egen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:37.258	hun ha bæsja
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:45.470	+u tørk +u tørk +u tørk
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:46.830	§u tørke tørke §o og sånn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:51.468	og tørke
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:17:54.771	+x tørketørk
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:18:03.450	vi ha kke mere bæsja
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:18:23.895	jeg +u skal hjelpe mamma
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:18:45.014	du klare ta du §u §n (child)
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:18:55.087	§n (child) ta på
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:19:12.770	jeg vise til morten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:19:22.596	+u skal jeg +u (ta på) en gang til ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:19:38.947	han ta på ikke bleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:19:49.640	den +u skal ta på bleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:20:36.266	ta på ta av den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:20:38.595	den +u (ta på) ta av den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	00:20:48.513	hun bo oppå tre
<hr/>			
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:12:35.196	nei jeg tro jeg må ta +r de de her
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:12:39.835	en tro jeg
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:13:04.788	ja jeg tro jeg få leker
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:13:23.783	det her tro jeg blir riktig
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:14:04.086	§u må jeg at du må # passe her
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:14:22.030	se du at den har sånn kant ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:14:32.977	dette tro jeg passe her
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:14:35.785	den passe +u (sånn her)
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:15:06.703	hva stå det her ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:26:27.150	jeg klare ikke åpne
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:26:32.018	+r den den sitte fast
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:26:33.890	kan du §u
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:28:01.808	jeg vil gjøre ... +t holde den
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:40:46.257	§u jeg klare det
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:42:12.525	da +u bli jeg ## fire år
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:42:21.897	§u det er ikke §u
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:42:43.628	§u ### hvor mange +u blir du da ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:42:51.297	hvor mange +u blir du ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:42:54.863	hvor mange bli du da ?

Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:43:07.086	og da bli jeg tre
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:43:10.559	og bli jeg tre år
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:43:33.791	passe sånn da
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:43:41.439	§u den passe hit
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	00:45:11.616	og den passe sånn

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## Appendix 9 Prescriptive Infinitives

<i>File</i>	<i>(Age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:11:56.738	2finne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:30.662	2helpe meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:22:37.214	2hjelp meg # ta på bleie
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:30:53.071	2hjelp meg gravemaskinen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:32:30.280	2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:32:34.695	2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:40:52.794	2lese den
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:41:23.488	2lese mamma pusekatt ja
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:41:33.792	2lese mamma min
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:43:46.660	2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:43:52.082	ikke 2lese denne 2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:43:58.102	2lese den
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:44:01.950	+z le- mamma 2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:44:05.450	mamma 2lese din
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:45:26.312	mamma 2lese litt der
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:46:46.008	2lese n
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:46:47.904	2lese
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:49:21.663	mamma 2lese mer
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:49:56.848	2lese n
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:49:58.657	mamma 2lese den
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:50:00.775	2lese n litt litt
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:53:18.291	ikke 2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:53:34.347	2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:53:42.763	2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:56:32.882	2lese i denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:56:36.025	nei 2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:57:47.819	2lese denne ee litt
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:21:23.085	pappa 2hjelp meg
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:13:54.420	pappa 2lese den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:14:00.678	+r lese 2lese elling
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:21:16.905	pappa 2bære den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:21:25.955	pappa 2bære den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:22:39.884	1sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:22:56.395	2sette på igjen ## der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:23:00.257	den 2sitte passe de der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:23:07.410	2sitte passe de der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:23:29.412	2sitte på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:23:45.457	2sette på igjen der ...
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:23:51.940	2sette på igjen der ...
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:24:04.604	pappa 2hjelp
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:24:49.130	også # denne bare 1sitter
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:26:54.381	2sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:27:46.698	og 2sitte på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:27:56.827	2sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:28:45.614	2sitte på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:28:50.243	2sitte igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:04.359	2sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:06.747	denne 2sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:08.000	2sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:15.816	2sette hå [på] der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:17.632	2sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:20.110	2sette på
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:22.336	2sette på igjen der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:29:22.638	2sette på igjen der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:15.991	2lese

Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:45.307	2sitte §n (Investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:07:02.185	§n (investigator) åpen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:16.160	§n (investigator) 2komme 2sitte ned
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:12:37.197	nei §n (investigator) # ikke gjøre det §n (investigator)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:04.758	2hjelp meg
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:00:11.452	2lese
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:24:05.670	ehm 2hjelp med den
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:10:48.060	2sove
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:10:52.876	2sove
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:12.735	2sove
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:27:06.398	2hjelp
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:28:41.588	2sitte rett

## Appendix 10 List of unambiguous Root Participles

<i>File</i>	<i>(age)</i>	<i>stage</i>		
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:17:44.040	ikke sett det
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:48:02.89	gravemaskin gjemt seg
			6	
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:23:38.965	ee tatt av den
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:05:43.541	jeg sett sånn før
Eiml 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:05:46.606	+z (jeg sett på fer-) jeg sett på det ferie
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:39.989	se +z (§n (Child) få) §n (Child) fått +u (egen bok)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:47.514	§n (Child) fått +u (egen bok)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:50.575	§n (Child) fått +u (egen bok)
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:14:50.700	hm +r (jeg sett den) jeg sett den og §o
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:15:13.544	tenkt på det da

## Appendix 11 List of unambiguous finite utterances

Repetitions are included.

<i>File</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>stage</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:11:32.838	den har bæs-
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:12:41.609	+u de er venner
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:18:32.469	lsitte fast ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:27:58.833	åh den +r har +u har sånne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:28:25.867	leker gravema- ...
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:28:38.323	lhenger halen sin
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:26.786	lhenger
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:28.284	2henger n
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:40.963	henger n opp
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:45.468	så ## kasta §n (cat) å halen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:48.039	bilen er borte
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:50.000	gjemmer seg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:35:31.121	her ## gjemmer seg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:35:40.575	gjemmer seg denne §u
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:38:25.558	oi slo hodet sitt
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:39:45.537	eple er der
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:41:09.873	her er pusekatt
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:46:19.355	der 2spiser
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:51:07.741	+z elsk- oi §n (cat) er der
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:55:46.531	pappa gjør
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:56:08.762	mamma lkommer +u du ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:56:10.796	mamma lkommer +u ut ?
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:13:59.746	bjørnen er stor
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:14:03.605	er kjempestor
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:15:11.102	prinsessa prøver
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:20:36.868	er skillpadda
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:22:59.668	den som lhenge fast
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:31:08.777	oi ## datt
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:31:35.793	han bader
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:33:40.862	jeg +u fant det
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:33:56.846	han gjør det
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:34:39.812	han lspiser mat
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:34:54.687	er sulten
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:35:38.780	pusekatt er der
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:37:18.217	den lhenge fast
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:37:47.186	han lsover
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:37:52.233	er kjempetrøtt
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:37:54.351	har smukk
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:42:24.403	den er +u fin
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:42:25.633	er kjempefin
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:43:00.458	+u den lspise mat
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:45:13.489	mamma er der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:23.218	boj +r i- # +r i- # inni huset
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:32.021	boj +r i # i huset
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:40.216	kommej inn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:41.830	lkomme inn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:04:36.857	denne ødelagt den er litt ødelagt
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:05:47.312	kjøjej der borte
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:05:50.560	kjøjej der borte
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:15:34.206	kastej
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:15:37.116	+r (jeg e-) jeg elskej +r ka- kaste
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:17:48.783	+r is is er tom

Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:14.389	det er pappa
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:00:40.501	jeg sittej
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:00:42.289	jeg 1sitter den
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:02.783	1sitte der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:03:51.702	+u falt ned
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:07:54.350	+u han er inni sofaen
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:09:37.823	den er for stor
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:10:57.481	bor inni +r bro broa
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:15:12.142	den er ødelagt
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:16:43.381	jeg har oransje # tube
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:16:53.510	det er min
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:13.889	vil ikke mer
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:15.560	vil ikke mer
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:30.997	ee løve +u er der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:40.247	den er løve
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:45.791	den bare 1sitte å passe şu
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:20:37.956	skal vi 2grave i stor sandkassa
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:21:35.516	denne også er stor
<hr/>				
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:28:42.115	+r nei +r nei nei så må han kjøre vekk
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:28:49.426	så +r så må han kjøre ...
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:28:49.426	da må han si nei
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:30:00.993	er det bare min şu ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:30:11.274	er det noen ... morten ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:30:14.363	er det flere noen leker ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:00:09.606	jeg skal finne
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:00:38.289	hva gjør han ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:01:48.437	jeg veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:02:32.503	hva gjør han ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:03:26.371	var det han ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:04:48.391	var det bukkene bruse ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:05:27.527	hva gjør han ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:05:45.834	han skal kjøre med trollet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:13.309	da stanga trollet +t da blir # trollet stanga ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:27.626	nå tar jeg sa trollet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:34.979	ja det sier han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:36.850	også # bare kom da sa trollet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:41.195	ja det sier han
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:44.876	da s- ... da sa +r sa +r sa trollet hvem şu (er det som tramper på min bro) ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:54.513	det sier trollet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:08:09.258	jeg veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:08:11.538	hva gjør han ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:08:47.582	han er sinna på ham
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:11:25.930	kan jeg også ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:11:45.138	jeg kan ikke synge jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:12:07.378	hva ønsker du ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:12:17.021	nei du +u ønsker seg sånn
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:13:30.738	nå må han bite deg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:14:25.875	jeg er veldig glad ee sjokolade jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:14:40.817	kan du bli med meg ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:14:46.344	kan du bli med meg ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:14:49.693	har du også ... skal jeg løfte denne ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:15:03.253	kan de være med meg ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:15:09.779	kan jeg ta med +z disse +z disse de lekene ned ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:15:39.730	şu mamma # kan du bære den der
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:15:42.604	+r (kan jeg) +r (kan jeg) kan jeg gå alene ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:00.619	nei jeg skal gå først
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:04.883	jeg kan ikke ta med sykkelen ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:21.750	du kan ... du skal gå etter meg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:21.751	så kommer du etter meg og mammaen min



Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:33.605	ja du må # gå først
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:36.498	+r så kommer .... da må du # komme # der
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:36.499	også står jeg ned der
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:36.499	og da må du vente på meg komme ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:17:26.791	kan du lukke det ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:17:31.799	hvor er manne ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:17:36.721	jeg finner ikke mannen
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:17:43.407	+r (jeg finn-) jeg finner ikke mannen jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:18:10.657	+u kan ... han ... kan han spise +u mat ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:18:19.179	kan han spise mat ?
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:19:16.172	kan du lukke den ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:07.065	§n (child) er på her
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:08.907	§n (child) er oppå her §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:17.729	ja jeg ser
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:21.546	§n (child) ser
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:29.908	jeg kan se
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:31.654	ja jeg kan ta
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:53.989	§n (Child) har fant den
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:01:05.680	§n (Child) måtte 2finne gravemaskin
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:01:38.418	hvor er # her ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:01:49.339	jeg kan se nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:01:51.628	ja jeg kan se
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:31.904	kan panda bjørn +u kan stå der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:38.263	hesten +u kan stå her
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:59.564	er det her ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:45.782	sånn §n (child) må hente garasjen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:29.938	traktoren +u kan kjøre der
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:39.319	gravemaskin +u kan kjøre §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:10.470	gravemaskin kan der §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:07:41.563	jeg +u ville ha den nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:08:50.205	jeg kan kaste +u ballen [baken] ### her
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:09:26.110	jeg må ha +u flere biler
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:09:32.643	jeg må ha +u flere
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:10.334	§n (investigator) skal +u fikse den
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:30.433	da er blå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:41.116	biler kan kjøre da
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:05.265	+u jeg kan ha flere biler
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:26.393	§n (Child) har lagd den
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:33.717	+u jeg har lagd den §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:38.927	nei den er min
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:44.979	§n (investigator) må ikke ødelagte bilen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:12:12.649	+u bilen er ødelagt
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:04.735	ja jeg kan leke den
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:28.727	nei det er min
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:43.527	ja jeg ser
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:15:05.613	§n (Child) ha lagd den §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:15:27.650	nei det er min
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:19:30.654	sånn +u jeg kan kjøre nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:47.051	§n (Child) kan gjøre nå ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:32.313	jeg må 2finne +u boka
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:52.876	kanskje må §n (child) lese +u for §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:57.272	jeg får plass
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:44.890	vi kan +u (gjøre båten)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:49.046	vi kan gjøre båten
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:24.071	jeg kan få +u (egen bok)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:02.632	ja jeg ser
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:20.420	jeg må ha +u (egen bok)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:23.184	§n (investigator) jeg må ha +u (egen bok)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:44.388	+r jeg # jeg er ferdig lese bok §n (investigator)

Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:38.768	se # jeg har fått §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:55.909	er det denne
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:29:12.650	§n (child) kan # lage kjempehøyt nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:29:47.107	du skal få §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:02.166	§n (Child) kan få egen is
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:15.213	§n (investigator) ha fått bukke bruse nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:24.880	jeg må finne bukke-bruse
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:28.220	§n (Child) må finne bukke-bruse
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:32.618	§n (Child) kan gjøre nå ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:45.938	§n (Child) +u kan se
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:47.926	§n (Child) kan se nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:17.770	Isitte
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:31.971	§n (Child) kan finne bukke-bruse
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:48.099	jeg ## skal # lese
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:07.476	§n (Child) kan gjøre nå ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:33.262	§n (Child) kan gjøre nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:53.383	§n (Child) har fant den
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:07:40.953	det er §n (Child) sin ball
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:07:57.000	+u (det er) min ball
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:08:15.778	§n (Child) må finne ballen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:08:25.027	hvor er §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:09:21.612	jeg er +u kokke-§n (Child)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:09:50.416	+z §u §n (Child) var kke langt oppi himmelen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:09:58.140	§n (Child) var oppå her
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:26.663	jeg tror §n (Child) sin bil
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:12:15.674	jeg tror ikke §n (name1) sin bil
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:13:14.183	bil kan kjøre begge
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:13:18.423	bil kan kjøre begge nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:22.202	det er det
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:26.410	dette er det
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:45.748	bil kan kjøre +u nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:15:01.325	det er min
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:15:27.560	nei §n (Child) må finne # noe leke
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:15:34.076	§n (Child) må finne noe leke
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:16:20.591	jeg skal kjøre på §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:17:26.762	§n (Child) kan kjøre
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:18:33.170	§n (Child) må finne §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:20:31.795	den er min
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:01.100	det +x æke [er ikke] tog
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:14.037	hva sier toget ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:54.551	hva sier §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:33.417	+r (jeg ha ikke) jeg har ikke å 2finne noen leke
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:48.336	+r (§n (Child) må) §n (Child) må lese
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:54.350	se # hva er §u ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:17.904	den er min
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:14.841	§n (Child) bare må fikse den
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:34.502	jeg # må # fikse
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:06.957	ble ikke lei seg
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:15.781	kan få mat
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:18.659	kan få en mat
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:30.899	§n (Child) kan lage mat med # §n (investigator) med mus
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:22.419	må la tå [stå] der +u denne
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:23.110	den er rød
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:20.870	er bare meg
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:23.871	nei det er bare meg §u
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:59.324	nei er bare traktoren
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:05.306	hæ den +u datt nede der
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:07.091	her er aent
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:12.341	er aent # gravemaskin

Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:49.077	det 1grave
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:07:50.904	den er ferdig
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:43.461	den er ferdig
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:50.420	nei jeg veter ikke hvor ikke bestefar
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:17.836	oi hva er det
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:12:27.482	vil reparere
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:14:24.055	det 1graver ned elgen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:15:50.946	denne er kjempeskummelt
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:15:53.946	og §n (investigator) er kjempeskummelt
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:17:09.930	den må +u (ha smukken sin)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:19:34.921	+r jeg jeg letej [leter] ...
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:20:35.897	§n (investigator) kommer og ta
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:10.522	haj [har] ingen mer
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:14.074	haj [har] +z ingen ikke mer
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:17.803	det var to hunder
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:53.235	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:21.885	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:39.289	æh det 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:07.362	der 0brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:07.362	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:14.962	§l uæ der det 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:23.590	oi der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:52.508	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:27.819	+z +u (nei det ring-) der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:32.480	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:52.873	der er brenn
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:56.703	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:16.454	kanskje vikkej [virker]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:23.601	+u der vikkej [virker]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:20.683	det er den som 2finne lage hus
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:40.520	den ## der passej [passer] ikke der
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:44.519	jeg vil leke den
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:47.639	hvor er lastebilen ?
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:53.649	ja nei vi veter ikke hvor lastebilen +z mi- min
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:37.453	det er min +u nå
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:40.832	er min bil
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:14.423	hva er det ?
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:54.880	ja men jeg må flere brikker
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:02.742	ee jeg og vil prøv
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:26.134	det er kke inni §u
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:08:02.485	hvor er den ?
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:08:39.373	jeg fant
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:13:38.746	går ikke inn her
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:19:48.283	jeg må
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:33.856	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:48.938	hallo der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:25.733	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:56.079	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:24.288	+x dæ 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:02.480	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:22.747	og der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:25.125	det der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:28.044	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:34.158	jeg går +e (en gang)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:36.806	jeg går +e (en gang)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:44.128	går brannmann
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:14.427	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:28.294	jeg går +e (en gang)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:58.183	der 1brenner

Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:29:48.356	jeg går +e (en gang)
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:01:20.741	jeg kjører traktoren
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:02:14.005	det der er gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:02:32.471	det er morten der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:00.717	+r (er gravemaskin) [\$n]
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:08.751	er gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:42.249	ja # 1sitte
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:04:14.835	jeg kjører +u mer
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:04:34.777	det er en gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:05:13.928	jeg har flere leker
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:05:38.994	kan han få skje ?
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:05:43.357	han må ha \$u
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:06:21.139	ja # der er en gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:07:36.408	det er tiit [tigergutt]
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:07:40.811	det er æsjehale
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:08:02.184	det er hest
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:08:48.521	er hest
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:09:40.241	er dyr ?
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:57.037	jeg 1sitter der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:11:52.189	er gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:12:12.442	er traktor
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:12:37.126	jente 1sitter gravemaskinen der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:13:03.288	+r jeg jeg ha +z bl- og jeg ha ødelegge
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:13:38.089	1sitte jenten traktor
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:13:49.907	der datt katten ned
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:14:23.710	jeg er i ## tørste
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:14:23.710	er tiit [tigergutt]
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:15:52.164	er tiit [tigergutt] der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:18:09.928	den er morten sin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:19:36.135	det er blå
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:19:39.470	det er blå der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:20:00.079	der er grønn
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:20:16.493	jeg kjører denne
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:14.181	er trollet
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:07:06.914	jeg 1sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:08:49.088	pappa 1bærer +u sånn
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:09:30.162	jeg 1synger papegøye
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:17.536	er morten sin vann
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:11:21.902	og det er baby
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:13:52.231	også er de i boken
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:03:19.522	han vil ha melk
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:05:48.307	nei katten er det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:06:43.269	her er rumpa
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:09:03.712	åh satte foten
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:09:44.076	den er ødelagt
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:05.072	+u nå må kjøre mannen
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:13.635	er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:15.063	er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:16.738	er trappa
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:18.257	er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:52.215	det er gravemaskin og
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:11:10.259	der er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:11:12.063	der er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:12:00.974	den klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:12:34.054	katten vil ikke
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:13:33.002	nå skal kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:15:39.315	der er katten
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:15:40.975	der er katten
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:18:19.451	den vil ikke
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:18:21.821	vil ikke

William	(2;05.22)	III	00:19:26.540	og mikkelrev må være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:19:38.880	løven vil oppå
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:19:54.747	datt ned den
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:21:50.324	der er plass
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:22:49.529	får elg få +x jemme (være med)
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:12.804	det var +u en vovvov
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:48.268	hvor er mere ?
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:49.982	der er den
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:26:27.672	er det +e kart ?
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:27:24.393	den er bedre
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:35:33.133	der er gravemaskin
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:38:09.758	det er en båt
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:38:17.071	jeg klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:39:21.141	klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:40:02.616	der klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:40:40.078	den er ødelagt
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:40:54.530	jeg klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:41:02.180	jeg klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:41:10.160	må 2finne
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:47:06.270	ikke må vise §u
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:51:16.818	+x (klalel kke [klarer ikke])
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:52:00.453	jeg klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:57:37.066	det var bedre
<hr/>				
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:10:49.647	der lkomme beinen
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:11:59.090	det er sånn
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:12:52.990	kan jeg danse med den ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:13:53.990	+r (her kommer) her lkommer bil
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:14:31.260	den kjører
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:14:39.640	var det på løve der ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:15:11.240	heter ... spiser
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:16:15.280	elefant var ## her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:16:19.680	her var elefant
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:16:26.390	var det den ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:16:29.390	§u en ... var det eh elefant der ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:16:43.760	var det løve
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:16:48.300	den spiser +r en +r en +ren var det en baby ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:17:02.020	der lkommer det traktor
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:17:11.317	ehm vet ikke inne her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:17:21.010	panda er inne her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:17:29.620	+z (jeg vet §u...) og der +r ligg- 2ligger dyreparken
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:18:04.560	bare panda kommer sammen
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:18:54.460	hva er dette ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:19:41.950	den sier
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:19:50.147	hva # det het ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:20:09.440	jeg har +u (pusekatten)
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:22:26.305	jeg har tre traktor
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:22:49.133	får ikke opp
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:23:24.080	var det magi ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:00:05.337	jeg hørte ikke om bukkene bruse
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:00:14.232	der går +u ikke mus
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:00:18.075	nå kommer fi- ...
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:00:26.582	jeg går ned det
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:00:50.787	gravemaskinen +r (heter kranbil) heter kranbilen
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:01:00.561	kanskje vi skal +u bruke den nå
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:01:14.978	nei jeg vil sitte her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:01:21.618	+u ned lkommer bukkene bruse ned på vannet
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:01:35.750	dette er mus
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:01:38.455	her går en mus
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:01:54.340	er det trollet ?

Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:01:59.880	ehm han sier ## kom hit
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:03:26.164	han kom her og kom her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:03:39.692	det si trollet
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:03:47.690	se her +u (hva det) !
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:03:58.820	jeg så den i går
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:04:04.402	jeg så på ekorn
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:04:12.456	ja det var ekorn og 1komme gris
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:04:19.572	sier ehm gutter §u
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:04:26.459	her inni +t her +u 1sitter inni boka der
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:04:54.907	den sparker sånn
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:05:22.531	hva er det ?
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:05:29.224	sier trollet ... han er # sint
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:06:24.904	her 1kommer §u sånn
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:06:36.526	her 2komme §o
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:06:40.774	og så kommer +t her 1kommer # han
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:08:25.683	den ## 1komme sånn rød
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:08:32.318	den er hvit # den og er rød # den er rød §u
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:09:24.240	her 1komme sånne
<hr/>				
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:01:59.849	den mannen som kjører den bitt- ... +t kjører gravemaskinen de kan kjøre noen store gravemaskiner +r (den har) den har traktorlyd
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:04:27.202	så +z (den kan s-) den skal pumpe den der
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:04:33.445	den skal pumpe den
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:04:38.413	den skal pumpe
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:04:40.040	+z (den) +z (den) men gravemaskinen skal ta han ned
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:04:42.625	+z (mot-) der var motoren # som kan ...
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:05:21.566	sauen åpner gravemaskinen sin
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:05:25.760	ja jeg vet ikke hva den heter
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:05:54.272	+r (men den e-) den # den er traktor
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:01.693	den sier §o
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:07.162	+r det +r det det er et blad
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:13.900	som han kan spise
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:17.916	da blir han ikke noe sulten
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:23.624	+z (også) men hvor er løveungen din ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:36.931	den var jo veldig fin
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:50.376	og den var en løveunge
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:53.143	den var en løveunge
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:55.246	+r (han kan) han kan bombe han
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:07:14.464	her vil du se +r (at du) at du har noe annet ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:07.203	den kan +u stå
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:30.112	den kan ikke +u stå
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:32.678	den var og spiste gress
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:36.815	den sa §o
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:43.047	den kan si §o
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:45.184	her er han mannen
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:09:05.394	+r (skal) skal vi se i den døren også ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:09:08.650	han heteð ## §u
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:09:17.518	han heter ### en annen mann
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:09:30.651	den bor i et annet hus ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:09:46.088	også er det en elg som er elget sitt hus
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:09:51.955	vil du se at det er §u
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:09:57.157	den er litt ødelagt
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:10:22.180	+r (nå) nå skal han bombe traktoren oppi der
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:10:30.316	har dere noen leker her ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:10:52.566	har du bare løveungen med ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:10:59.123	den 1sitter og 2sover hjemme hos oss
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:04.498	og den får du ikke tak i
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:12.764	den leker ikke sånn
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:22.338	den leker ikke sånn
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:24.984	+z (jeg) +r (det v-) det var elgen som bomba seg
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:49.311	

Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:12:21.483	jeg vet ikke
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:12:46.833	den er ### svart
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:12:57.824	det går an å ta den opp
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:13:02.589	det går an å ta den opp
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:13:05.344	det går an å ta n opp
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:13:45.440	den kan kjøre
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:13:50.060	den skal kjøre på şu
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:13:52.150	og den skal kjøre på şu
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:09.694	+r da da blir n trøtt
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:15.382	den blir trøtt
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:21.845	skal den soves
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:30.994	+r den +r den den traktoren mista det der
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:36.276	det er en # ødelagt n
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:47.137	ja den vil ikke bli ødelagt
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:55.664	den vil kke nå
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:15:06.345	ee ## inni mannen kan vi se
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:15:13.055	det er en annen mann
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:15:31.030	jeg vet ikke +u hvem han heter
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:16:18.985	han fikk vondt
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:16:43.177	kan du ta n opp ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:16:47.594	+r (også kan) +r også også kan den bombes her # på gulvet også blir den redd
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:17:01.430	+z (den skal) den # elgen skal bombe han på gulvet
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:17:10.416	da må de hente traktoren
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:00:36.500	den jeg vil se på
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:01:44.714	+r da # da kan trolle bunke han i vannet
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:02:08.868	der kan han spise gress
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:02:12.545	skal jeg vise den ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:02:15.192	skal jeg lese om den ?
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:02:22.223	det er bukken-bruse som går over şu her
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:02:26.784	de skal til seters og gjøre seg feite
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:02:48.086	+z (den bukken-) da kom den # mellomste bukkene-brusen
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:03:38.829	det var şu og der var han
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:03:44.840	+r det ee det er en rar mann
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:03:53.436	den annen nese har han
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:04:12.199	ja +r også også sier det trollet +f (hva er det som tramper på min bru)
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:05:16.611	jeg veit ikke
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:39.178	ee står
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:06:46.324	ja da får han vann
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:02.615	da kunne jeg ikke ha på # bleiebukse
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:55.753	det var den der
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:12:16.450	nå kommer jeg og lspise deg
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:12:32.545	den var sint
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:16:31.300	han ## jeg vet ikke hvor han +r han ...
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:16:36.537	han ## jeg vet ikke hvor han gjør
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:18:17.394	der var den bittelille reven som er litt lei
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Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:00:13.568	den bor
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:00:15.300	hvor bor hun ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:00:42.238	smokken min skal gjemme meg oppi der
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:00:56.287	jeg skal vise dere
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:02:42.335	nå jeg vil +r (jeg må) jeg må gjemme meg
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:03:15.124	vil du ha kaffe ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:04:07.598	hvem vil ha is ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:05:54.396	jeg må leke
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:06:53.102	du er syk
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:07:05.200	han er også +u syk
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:07:19.004	nei +r jeg er syk

Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:10:18.330	er du klar ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:10:36.180	den heter frøken kanin
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:12:33.802	kan du hjelpe med den ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:13:51.570	jeg skal leke med det şu
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:14:08.222	skal ri på hesten
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:15:17.072	jeg skal ringe pappaen min
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:15:19.543	jeg skal ringe
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:16:52.512	den er til ... må +r må ha de +r de her
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:16:56.694	er dette til +r # til meg ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:17:21.769	nei # jeg må leke med den
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:17:28.193	den gråter
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:18:07.804	şo han ble bleie
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:18:43.134	jeg må leke med den
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:19:12.175	det er her
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:20:11.309	først er det til mamma
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:21:19.677	jeg må sove litt
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:21:23.842	jeg vil ha ... jeg la en smokk oppi der
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:21:53.892	og han vil ha også is
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:22:01.232	vil du ha ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:22:03.940	vil du også is ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:22:28.438	de vil ikke oppi
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:22:42.067	det er barba
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:22:45.764	og der er barba
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:22:55.784	hun kan lage min bok
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:00:50.401	han klapper
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:01:16.312	vi kan lese annen bok
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:06:18.026	vil lese den
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:06:52.390	hvor bor den ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:09:53.658	mamma vil du ha også is ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:09:58.541	jeg vil ha +z i- (mer is)
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:10:01.855	jeg vil ha mer is
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:10:08.612	jeg vil være oppe
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:11:22.903	jeg vil ha smokka med meg inn i senga min
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:12:11.860	har du ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:12:23.317	nei # det er bare lillesøster min
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:18:08.700	nå har jeg gjemt meg
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:18:11.355	nå har jeg gjemt meg
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:18:42.832	+r (den heter) ... kanskje den heter mann
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:19:28.291	og han er +r lille mellom og han er mellom og han er +r mellom og han er mellom og han er mellom og han er mellom og hun er stor
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:20:29.518	det er bakke
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:20:35.684	han er lei seg
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:21:54.782	jeg vil leke med de
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:22:30.223	det er min
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:23:05.449	+r (vi må) vi må starte med den
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:24:19.449	grønn # kjørte der
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:24:33.963	glemte den
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:25:15.692	hun hete dame
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:26:50.818	den er grønn
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:27:19.792	ikke den er ingen
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:27:32.195	kan du løfte opp der ?
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:29:38.968	hvor er koseklumpen min ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:10:57.648	+u hvorfor heter den det ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:04.575	han er helt sint
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:10.014	han er det
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:13.747	da drar han şu
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:20.424	han sølte +u gjennom vognen hans
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:25.046	han har sitte fast han også
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:39.913	og da kan ikke james være med



Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:48.714	§o nei men james er oppi her
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:02.363	ja han har to st- ## +t +r han han har to stykker
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:07.234	han har to stykker
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:18.592	det er ikk- +t det er ikke §u +t +r han han kan ikke være med han heller
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:30.482	inn- ... +t hvis han kan være med
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:45.896	+r men men han kan ikke være med
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:50.545	mighty mac kan være §u oppi §u
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:55.090	mighty mac kan være med
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:57.614	den kan det
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:59.069	han kan det
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:13:18.735	og nå er det en ring
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:13:54.812	+r hva hva er det ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:14:06.328	kan du hente noe flere tog ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:14:15.257	det der er ikke en ...
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:14:34.999	eh det er diesel
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:14:43.392	og hvem er det da ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:14:46.270	hvem er det da ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:14:57.815	eh det er ### en ... +t hva står det der ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:15:06.059	der står det persey sin vogn
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:15:19.025	der er ## persey sin kullvogn
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:15:36.102	eh jeg har # og leka der
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:16:24.016	+r den den store grisen hadde lagt seg ute
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:16:34.221	han kan ikke sove ute
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:16:46.604	eh kan jeg få den ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:16:54.196	ja hva er det ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:17:01.964	kan du si det ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:17:18.351	du skal si det
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:17:32.783	også regner det ikke noe på han
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:17:40.576	nå er han våt
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:18:29.959	da regner det på han
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:18:37.231	så vil han ikke opp der
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:19:02.995	han # gjorde noe ting
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:19:27.292	hva er det oppi der ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:19:33.567	er du morten ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:19:39.261	og kan du ta bort
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:19:42.499	er det thomas ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:19:51.011	det er en tiger
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:20:06.692	ja hvor er +r (hvor er) tennene da ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:20:17.733	eh # har du mere oppi der ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:20:59.765	han lsitter der
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:30:37.622	det er sånn der kjører traktoren
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:30:48.288	han skal grave han
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:30:55.931	han skal grave den her forsiktig
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:31:06.478	det her er så fint
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:31:09.709	det her er så fint
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:31:16.268	og jeg kjører der på plass
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:31:23.533	går det an ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:31:40.243	nei hvor er +r (hvor er) ferien da ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:31:45.433	kanskje den er under den der plastelinaen ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:31:58.898	hva skjer da ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:32:12.976	det var et uhell
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:32:39.073	å nei ## +r den +r den den vil ikke opp
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:32:51.384	nei # +r den +r den den vil opp
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:32:57.951	ja da må du +u dytte +u inn
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:33:13.318	han må grave kattepusen
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:33:18.184	han må være helt forsiktig
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:34:02.195	han må ## dra kattepusen oppover
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:34:26.752	her er kattevennene hans
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:34:34.253	det der er en kattepus

Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:35:52.579	hva s- ... +t hva har skjedd med traktoren din da ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:36:05.073	eh kan du ta den eh ... +t jeg kan løfte de der stakene inn der # plass
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:36:48.437	eh eh eh nå er alle dyra borte
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:36:52.827	+z (er den) er det noe mer dyr i sekken din
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:37:03.581	er det mer oppi sekken din ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:37:09.591	+r han han må +t han har tissa
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:37:27.736	nei det går ikke an
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:37:49.542	kan du prøve ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:37:53.592	+r nei nei jeg graver bort +u gravene
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:38:17.647	da må den gå på forbi
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:39:13.031	han må stå på den
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:39:17.406	også graver han tigeren bort
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:39:26.411	også går han bort # han
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:40:31.909	+r nei nei ### den må ta stakene inn på plass
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:40:38.600	hva er det ?
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:40:44.220	han skal ha på bleia han
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:41:02.525	den der er rompa
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:41:06.211	au # spurte han
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:41:11.834	han må kjøre traktoren # +r det +r det det der går ikke an
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:41:59.024	er det
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:10:45.548	skal sove
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:05.714	her kan den sove
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:07.981	kan sove ## der
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:22.281	er dyra
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:41.672	alle +r kan # +r kan kan få sove i min seng
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:57.753	jeg lkommer snart
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:12:11.845	dette var med
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:12:41.786	vil du se på rommet mitt ?
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:12:45.877	+u men vil du se ?
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:12:51.423	vil du se ?
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:14:02.604	ee ## nei pappaen min kjører
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:14:28.381	hertet mitt dunker
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:14:31.265	hertet mitt dunker
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:14:36.539	hertet mitt dunker
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:14:44.712	+z §u vil du høre ?
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:15:14.498	også ha jeg sminka meg
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:15:16.913	jeg hadde sminka +r meg meg hos ragna
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:15:22.509	også ble jeg rosa og lilla
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:15:32.308	ee i går var jeg i barnehagen min
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:15:42.187	ee jeg lekte litt og så # kom mammaen min og henta meg
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:15:51.191	+x mm +z (også kom) # +r også også blei jeg hjem også spiste jeg frokost
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:16:08.319	ja jeg vet ikke helt hva jeg gjorde mere
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:16:18.066	ee ja vil du kaste ball med meg ?
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:16:24.480	er det så Fin° ball ?
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:16:41.667	i går gjorde vi det
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:16:55.270	er det din tur
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:17:00.888	+r det det gikk ikke an
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:17:06.568	§l nå er det rita sin tur
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:17:16.140	§l der er den
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:17:46.877	jeg kan kaste langt
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:02:17.349	der er den
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:02:53.429	der er trollet
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:03:00.818	da blir hun lei seg
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:03:07.480	noen har slått han
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:03:16.456	de ble lei seg og
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:03:49.300	mamma kan jeg få litt drikke ?

Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:04:49.945	vil du +z ha også ha litt saft ?
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:06:08.857	ee jeg vet ikke
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:08:00.913	jeg vet ikke
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:08:03.245	du kan lese
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:08:06.620	jeg vet kke
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:08:16.969	og det er hunden
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:09:16.697	det er i musebyen
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:10:44.142	jeg 2drikker
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:10:46.066	se nå hva jeg 1drikker nå
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:21.572	ee vet ikke
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:36.498	hun [hund?] kan sleike han
<hr/>				
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:04:41.559	men vi mangler en \$u som skal være der
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:29.866	nei den er bare +u dum
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:31.940	og nå kommer løven
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:34.307	og dragen # spiser den opp
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:12:13.784	det å går an å opne dørene -ne
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:12:41.054	da kjører han selv og så
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:12:46.830	han kan +r kjøre +z en +z kjøre alle ...
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:13:35.104	han bor i jorda med gravemaskinen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:14:34.431	hva er det ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:14:53.975	nei han kan kke stå
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:09.440	men jeg klarer ikke det.
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:46.190	+u men jeg klarer ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:50.386	hvor er halen til tigeren ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:56.595	hvor er halen til tigeren ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:33.153	all dyrene må sove
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:42.860	nå må de gå hje- ...
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:44.810	nå må kattepusen gå hjem og sove i senga si
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:52.762	nei for alle dyrene de er skum- ...
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:17:20.624	jeg må gå hjem
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:17:26.230	bor i raufossen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:17:48.965	nei # han er mamma
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:17:53.052	nei nå 1faller mamma
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:17:58.840	nå er jeg våt
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:18:42.154	hesten ligner litt nesten på elgen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:19:05.227	mamma skal vi åpne den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:19:26.233	den er ingen ting
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:19:46.034	jeg vil ta opp den
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:00:50.905	+u da var trollet sint
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:00:55.257	men da må vi bla her
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:03:04.476	1kommer trollet
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:03:34.223	nå skal vi lese den
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:03:42.670	mamma # nå er trollet der
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:03:53.450	+u hva sier den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:04:07.400	da ble bukkene bruse også litt sint
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:04:17.715	de er kke venner
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:05:33.979	0sitter han +u (oppå broen)
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:05:48.204	+v (jeg veit ikke)
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:06.617	nei jeg veit ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:09.860	+z hva ## hvor er trollet ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:15.402	hvor er trollet ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:22.439	hvor er den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:26.456	nei jeg +r veit veit ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:30.471	nei hvor er den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:36.406	hvor er den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:06:49.151	jeg vet ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:07:37.143	jeg klarte det
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:07:51.601	mamma har du kjøpt # melk ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:07:55.820	kan jeg få melk ?

Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:07:58.538	mamma # kan jeg få melk ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:10:52.725	mamma hvor er katten ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:10:55.010	hvor er katt ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:08.147	mamma hvor er den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:14.422	lligge pandabjørnen oppå den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:21.102	hvor er den da ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:38.400	hvor er den da ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:11:44.230	hvor er den ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:12:21.843	nei han må ikke det
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:12:33.130	jeg ønsker meg de til jul
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:12:51.864	men det er mine leiker
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:13:00.232	hvor er løven min ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:13:24.459	jeg måtte se om løven er i senga mi
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:13:28.489	mm skal vi se der ?
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:13:39.071	mamma skal se om løven er i senga şu
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:13:52.466	da må jeg åpne +u (presangen) min
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:03.460	og jeg skal prøve lynet mcqueen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:23.446	kanskje han virker
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:31.709	nei han virker ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:59.313	nei ## virker ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:18.643	det var dumt
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:20.596	mamma det var kjempedumt
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:23.756	vi kan ikke bruke den da
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:53.029	§l jeg vil kjøre på togstasjonen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:17:24.768	hva heter farmor ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:03.826	mamma har
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:12.500	det +z rød grønn og det er gul
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:22.198	nei det er rød det her
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:26.860	nei det er rosa det
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:43.077	den har jeg laget # det her
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:01:29.891	mhm tok jeg kakeform
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:01:50.981	+r (det er) det er mann og det er dame
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:02:19.169	det er sirkel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:02:24.699	nei det er sirkel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:02:34.205	den henger fast
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:03:48.159	hva var det
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:15.406	han skal +x bi 2grave på der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:44.511	hun må kjøre på sofaen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:51.275	hun lgraver på sofaen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:11.720	må 2finne noe 2grave med
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:15.325	jeg vil 2finne noe b- ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:23.347	dette er kke traktor
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:26.693	dette er kke traktor
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:29.213	nei +r (det er) det er et lykketroll
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:36.658	jeg må kaste n
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:39.601	jeg må 2grave den lykketrollet
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:50.022	hun 2sitte
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:52.363	hun +x l [vil] 2sitte
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:54.737	hun +x l [vil] 2sitte der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:57.256	+u skal 2sitte
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:59.197	hun vil 2sitte
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:06:24.944	var det din ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:06:44.952	det er blomst
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:07:06.149	hun må 2grave
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:07:24.042	den er ute den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:07:27.581	ja hun går ut og kaste der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:07:53.872	+r hun +r hun hun må 2grave
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:07:59.635	hun må 2grave på golvet
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:18.220	er det gravemaskin ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:21.631	er det rød ?

Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:24.014	hun må 2grave der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:25.918	hun må stå
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:59.863	+x ta [skal] vi ha sau ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:04.649	ja nei det er hund
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:08.655	nei +r (det er) det er ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:12.550	nei +r (det er) +r det det er fugl det
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:30.912	er det kråke ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:36.532	hai har du hai ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:45.331	er det dinosaur ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:56.659	hun 1spiser hun deg §o
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:10:26.108	nei det er voffen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:10:30.880	hva det har ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:10:48.597	nei +r (det er) det er en bjørn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:10:52.627	du har kke bjørn ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:10:57.598	åja hadde tiger
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:11:00.441	nei det er løve det
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:11:24.338	her er pusekatten er kke skummel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:11:30.879	bare baredinosaur er skummel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:11:34.391	og den er skummel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:11:36.696	+r (den er) den er ikke glad
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:11:54.063	hun gjør sånn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:12:07.869	+r hun +r (hun vil) +r (hun vil) kjøre
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:12:28.233	+r ka- katten vil kjøre
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:12:38.595	hun er ferdig 2grave
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:00.821	nei hun er stor
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:04.212	+r hun hun er stor
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:06.237	hun har sånn bein # og hale
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:13.133	+z hu- der er stor hals
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:17.533	det er haka
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:20.686	er det haka øyne
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:29.484	der er halsen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:05.179	andre er redde
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:07.232	sånn hun datt
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:10.279	hun datt
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:16.151	hun 1bisej [spiser] sånn gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:22.709	det er deilig
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:26.186	+x s 1finne gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:40.846	det er gressen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:15:02.371	det er bare løven
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:15:16.819	nei ikke hunde 1bise [spise] gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:15:22.195	hunde 1bise [spise] sånn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:15:24.720	hunde 1bise [spise] gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:15:30.146	hunde 1bise [spise] sånn melk
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:15:39.812	hun 1bisej [spise] melk
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:15:48.519	nei hun 1bise [spise] sånn brøskive
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:05.782	hun liker +u det brøskive
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:18.318	løven 1bise [spise] kjøtt
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:32.267	det er brunt kjøtt
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:01.879	det er mann
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:04.008	+u den skal sitte her
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:10.337	han 1driver og 2graver
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:46.729	du må ikke kjøre på han
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:57.950	er du redd ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:02.126	+z (du e-) du blir sint
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:08.320	+r (er kke) er kke du sint ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:18.987	tut tut vi kjører på deg tut tut
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:25.577	hun må sitte
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:39.755	+u vi må ikke kjøre på han
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:50.307	det er bjørn det er teddy bjørn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:54.363	det er isbjørn

Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:57.403	det er isebjørn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:19:10.370	sa må du må gå hjem etterpå
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:19:15.509	kan jeg få +x mokka [smokken] etterpå ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:19:51.647	den må jeg oppå der den også
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:19:58.974	oi ## er det is ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:06.941	+r (hun 1sitter) +r (hun 1sitter hun) hun sitter mannen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:17.865	vil du smake pizzaen ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:23.072	vil du smake ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:36.243	er det morten sin ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:44.835	er det morten sin ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:54.593	der det er morten sin
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:57.797	er det morten sin ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:21:02.980	og det er mamma sin
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:21:26.800	det er søppel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:21:40.116	+r du du det er andre gravemaskin
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:21:47.186	+r (det er) det er blå gravemaskin
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:21:52.962	+r (det er) +x (det er b-) det er mange gravemaskiner
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:22:16.040	jeg vil ha eske
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:22:40.641	det er pizza
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:22:41.962	er det pizzaen ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:22:45.969	her er pizza til morten sin
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:22:58.936	+r (det er) +r (det er) det er oransj
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:23:27.895	vi trenger ikke gaffel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:23:30.463	nei +z vi du trenger ikke gaffel
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:23:42.281	+r den den det er kke +u (drikken)
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:23:47.909	ja # +r det og det har mere vann der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:23:53.512	er det mamma sin ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:23:57.735	nei +r (det er ikke) det er ikke din
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:24:03.559	nei det er mamma sin
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:24:05.674	det er din
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:24:35.312	er rosa det
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:24:48.511	det er rosa
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:01.005	det er kke flere
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:19.872	jeg skal vise deg
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:35.600	da må han ta på n
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:38.322	vi skal ta på barnehagebleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:41.513	vi skal skal ta på barnehage- +x den -bleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:44.174	kan du 2hjelp hun ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:46.575	jeg trur jeg er ferdig bæsje
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:57.252	hun ska ta på n
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:25:59.772	jeg klarer
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:26:07.163	jeg skal skifte på tigersen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:26:10.389	ja jeg skal skifte \$u
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:26:22.906	mm har det bleie ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:26:26.363	vil du ta på bleie ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:26:48.297	og må over rumpa
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:28:44.879	skal vi ta på bleien ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:28:50.381	det er barnehagebleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:28:53.494	det må ta på over beinet
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:29:15.335	hun må ha bleie
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:29:27.039	må ikke ta av
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:29:38.822	det er jeg
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:29:47.492	vi klarer
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:29:55.647	nå har kke du mere bleier
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:30:11.207	det er kke mere
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:03.101	der er vi her se der \$u !
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:09.800	det var bukke bruse
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:19.673	det var bukke bruse
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:00:45.298	+z (jeg jo) +z (jeg ha ma-) jeg har jente
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:01:07.382	hun er sint

Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:01:11.855	+r hun +r hun +r hun hun er sint
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:01:21.232	jo hun sier nei
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:01:53.299	+r hun +r hun hun er glad
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:02:17.391	+r (det er) det er mons
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:02:20.016	det er mona
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:02:21.680	+u (her er) mona og det er mons
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:02:30.342	de er for hjelpe til +u leike bordet
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:03:00.440	det er potet
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:03:05.264	det er gorot [gulrot]
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:03:30.013	er det det ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:03:43.902	er det suppe ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:03:49.099	det er suppe
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:03:50.820	det er pannen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:07.881	ja nei mona er slem
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:13.593	+z (jeg må ikke) +z (jeg må lære) jeg må si og lære mere
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:20.140	må kke sprute mer
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:34.304	+z (sier hun) hun løper med poteten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:44.159	nei ## hun er glad
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:07.726	hun 1sitte oppå mons
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:12.742	hun 1sitte oppå mona
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:30.596	+z (hvis han §u så ikk-) hun fikk ikke mona
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:35.765	det satt ikke en sånn der så +z ha- +z hu- +u (kan der sånn) ikke der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:47.812	nei # du ikke rører med den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:56.167	du må ikke røre
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:06:11.452	+z hun de er på golvet
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:06:26.050	nei # det er hunden
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:07:11.418	+u hun ringer
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:06.243	hun gjør 2biten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:33.053	hun datt
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:08:56.986	de 1biser [spiser]
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:01.770	de 1biser [spiser] grønnsaker
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:06.098	+z b- +r de de 1drikker
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:09.306	det er jeg der
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:42.910	de er julenissen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:09:47.294	nei det er julenisse
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:10:51.298	+z (du må ikke julenissen ta) +u og du må ikke julenissen ikke ta den av
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:12:00.529	hun har # +u sånn genser
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:12:07.376	den er rød
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:12:18.006	hun har sånn ...
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:31.837	+x (hun) at hun skal +r ha ha på den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:43.690	og hun skal ta på den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:53.667	vil du holde den ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:05.434	hun må jeg legge oppå kassa
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:08.817	må jeg legge oppå kassa
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:18.423	det er min
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:30.326	+u men du skal ta på egen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:35.649	men mamma vil +x ho- hjelpe meg
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:45.277	den skal jeg ta # §u
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:05.589	vil du hjelpe meg ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:09.737	vil du hjelpe meg ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:20.512	du må ta på egen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:25.030	og den du må ta på den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:30.441	du må ta på # den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:33.306	+z vi du må ta den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:16:38.605	du må ta på denne
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:05.125	skal vi ta på en gang til ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:08.107	ja og du må ta på egen

Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:21.281	da må +r (gjøre vi) +r gjøre vi sånn
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:17:56.279	nå +x ta [skal] vi ta på bleien
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:18:01.800	må du 2holde den
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:17.271	ja jeg har den er §u
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:29.405	har det bleien ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:40.855	+x ta [skal] vi ta på den ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:20:44.140	det er julius
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:02.788	ja # det er du
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:04.436	så jeg er bare to år og
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:11.997	den må pass- +t den må passe sånn tro jeg
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:16.040	den # +u tro jeg # må passe sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:25.408	§o +u dobbel ### ja ### den må ha den +u sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:42.875	skal vi se
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:45.827	nei du kan ikke ødelegge den
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:49.596	nei jeg kan bruke den på nytt igjen
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:13:11.419	og da må vi ### sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:13:45.514	det tror jeg +e (er voksendrikk)
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:13:48.656	jeg tror +e (det er voksendrikk)
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:13:51.232	det tror jeg +e (er voksendrikk)
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:13:57.886	og den må det ... +t den må passe # her
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:14:18.605	og da må han +e (delte i to) sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:14:29.860	skal vi se
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:15:02.481	jeg var i +u oslo i går
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:20:30.445	det +r det er vannet til trollet det
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:21:24.130	jeg må ha en bein
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:21:26.804	jeg må ha en bein
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:21:31.165	ja # han må komme ut
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:21:48.719	den sier det
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:22:27.967	lkomme jeg og tar deg
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:24:43.433	nei det var ikke
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:26:08.080	+r (jeg vil) jeg vil sitte
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:26:11.072	+r (jeg vil) jeg vil
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:26:16.885	kan jeg sånn ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:26:42.990	kan du ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:27:02.374	kan jeg sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:27:06.148	kan jeg sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:27:17.940	§l der var blåbær
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:27:20.164	der var det blåbær
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:27:41.041	kan jeg ta +t kan jeg ta blåbær oppi der
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:27:53.429	kan jeg putte blåbær oppi der ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:28:05.211	+r (jeg vil # stå der) jeg vil stå der
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:28:10.007	jeg vil sitte der
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:28:16.068	han gjør # sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:28:17.761	han gjør sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:28:35.902	jeg vil kke sitte her
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:29:06.131	kan ikke du det også ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:29:14.468	gjø- +t det må jeg +u (sånn lyd sånn)
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:29:28.811	er det julenisse ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:40:18.239	da må gjøre
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:40:21.552	nei # da må jeg §u +t jeg må pusle denne
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:40:35.936	skal vi ta av de
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:40:39.866	nei du kan ikke blande
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:40:43.712	jeg kan blande
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:43:02.196	og jeg er jo to år
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:43:35.560	den må passe sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:43:39.255	den må passe her
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:43:52.135	§u og den skal der
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:08.120	jeg så det
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:09.678	men jeg så ikke det
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:13.803	jeg så ikke # +r ikke det



Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:17.571	hvor skal den ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:20.635	hvor skal den da ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:31.780	og den må passe hit
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:44.764	den var veldig rar den
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:47.761	ja den var jo veldig rar
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:51.660	men den er jo ikke rar
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:57.287	nei du er ikke rar
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:45:03.914	ingen er rar +r rar
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:45:09.690	den må passe sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:45:13.909	skal den passe sånn ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:45:20.780	det er kaldt å være sånn
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:45:35.019	kan den være sånn ?

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## Appendix 12 List of unambiguous Root Infinitives

Repetitions are included.

<i>File</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:05:57.864	2drikke vann bebien
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:08:24.914	ikke 2drikke vann bebien
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:14:17.279	ikke 2spise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:16:34.005	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:16:44.323	2sitte +u der stolen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:02.836	2sitte oppå se sett ## han
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:15.051	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:34.503	2sitte denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:37.728	2sette fast
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:07.487	2sove
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:09.568	2sove pusekatt §o
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:14.659	oi 2sover
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:39.329	ikke 2sitte denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:41.540	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:28:29.425	§n (cat) ikke 2sitte oi # hale sin
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:02.182	mannen +z (0sitter og) # oi # 2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:10.750	+r s- 2sitte der # siden av
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:59.370	+r +x duppon [duploen] +x duppon [duploen] +x da +z (2sitter her) +z der 2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:30:15.580	henger n denne # hånda si # her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:30:35.783	2sitte rolig
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:30:44.933	2sitte
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:30:47.785	+x duppo [duplo] 2sitte
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:01.476	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:32.065	ikke 2spise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:34.758	+z ikke §n (cat) ikke 2spise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:34:33.309	2lese bok denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:36:28.640	2sitte der
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:40:07.744	2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:43:17.634	2sitte teppen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:47:32.971	2spise kjeks nå
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:49:39.971	2lese den til deg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:49:42.639	2lese den til deg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:50:13.492	2lese det det der
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:53:02.576	2finne bok
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:54:03.284	2holde denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:54:25.852	2lese meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:54:32.986	nei meg 2lese
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:54:44.425	2holde denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:55:55.372	2lese
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:58:18.931	bebiene 2sove
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:58:22.480	2sove han bebien
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:58:42.798	denne bebien +u den 2sove litt
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:58:47.518	bebie +u den 2sove litt
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:14:05.760	den 2sitte der
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:34:52.368	2spise mat
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:37:14.622	den 2henge fast
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:38:53.442	den +u 2grave
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:38:55.644	den 2grave +u (det der)
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:01:55.822	2dave [grave]
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:01:57.230	2dave [grave] ute
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:01:59.420	vi 2dave [grave] # inni der

Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:02.199	+r da ee 2dave [grave] inne
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:04:49.938	2dave [grave] hjemme
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:00:54.620	jeg 2lese
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:00:56.390	denne 2lese
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:01:03.000	ja §n (Child) 2lese
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:16:24.907	vi 2grave hjemme
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:16:27.490	vi 2grave hjemme på vålerenga
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:03.191	ja jeg 2lese denne +u for 2lese §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:16.353	nå jeg +u 2lese for
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:00.268	ferdig 2lese bok nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:16.897	oi jeg 2finne
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:22.370	2finne der
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:59.423	jeg gjøre
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:02.882	det jeg gjøre
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:08:59.369	jeg gjøre
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:09:37.542	men det være der
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:09.870	2grave
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:13.231	jeg 2grave lastebilen
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:41.675	jeg gjøre
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:17.857	jeg gjøre
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:29:14.139	2ligge oppå den her
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:29:25.178	nei ee jeg gjøre
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:49.337	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:51.436	jeg 2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:53.489	jeg 2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:58.640	2sitte der elg
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:11:59.128	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:14:39.587	han 1spise +r (han spise) +r (han spise) +r (han spise)
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:15:54.433	han 2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:00:20.010	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:05:27.669	2sette
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:05:29.895	2sette
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:12:29.161	katten 2sitte oppe der
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:14:13.263	katten være der
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:14:15.157	katten være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:19:36.080	+r kua kua være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:19:38.880	være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:04.080	tiger være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:05.640	være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:51.202	der være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:58.556	2sitte
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:59.672	2sitte au
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:25:43.449	2sitte der
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:26:06.869	2sitte
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:38:25.848	være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:38:26.790	den være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:38:55.210	2synge
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:40:06.110	den være her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:17:34.876	den 2ligge
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:08:02.244	den 2sitte her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:09:24.240	ehm ## ehm 2spise +r 2spise ...
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:12:56.528	han 2spise deg
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:16:37.809	nei # nei # han 2sove inne
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:39:51.185	være skummelt # +r det det der
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:35.920	2sove
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:41.831	2sove ja
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:18:29.125	nei # vi 2sove

Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:21.895	hun 2grave
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:06:49.825	jeg 2grave i blomsten
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:06:58.169	2grave
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:42.356	han 2djave [grave]
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:30.255	+x e 2finne gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:55.162	+r hun- hunde 2spise
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:21:14.113	jeg ikke 2finne pizzaen
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:21:37.709	det 2grave
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:19.046	hun ha sånn og gjøre røre
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:52.003	2hjelpe ?

## Appendix 13 Null subject clauses

Repetitions are included.

### Null subjects in Root Infinitives

<i>File</i>	<i>(age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:14:17.279	ikke 2spise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:16:34.005	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:16:44.323	2sitte +u der stolen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:02.836	2sitte oppå se sett ## han
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:15.051	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:34.503	2sitte denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:17:37.728	2sette fast
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:07.487	2sove
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:14.659	oi 2sover
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:41.540	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:10.750	+r s- 2sitte der # siden av
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:30:44.933	2sitte
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:01.476	2sitte her
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:32.065	ikke 2spisa meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:34:33.309	2lese bok denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:36:28.640	2sitte der
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:40:07.744	2lese denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:43:17.634	2sitte teppen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:47:32.971	2spise kjeks nå
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:49:39.971	2lese den til deg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:49:42.639	2lese den til deg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:53:02.576	2finne bok
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:54:03.284	2holde denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:54:44.425	2holde denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:55:55.372	2lese
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:34:52.368	2spise mat
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:01:55.822	2dave [grave]
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:01:57.230	2dave [grave] ute
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:02.199	+r da ee 2dave [grave] inne
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:04:49.938	2dave [grave] hjemme
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:00:56.390	denne 2lese
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:00.268	ferdig 2lese bok nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:22.370	2finne der
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:09.870	2grave
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:29:14.139	2ligge oppå den her
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:02:56.806	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:02:59.554	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:35.462	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:49.337	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:11:59.128	2sitte der
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:00:20.010	2sitte der
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:05:27.669	2sette
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:05:29.895	2sette
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:19:38.880	være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:05.640	være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:51.202	der være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:58.556	2sitte
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:59.672	2sitte au
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:25:43.449	2sitte der

William	(2;05.22)	III	00:26:06.869	2sitte
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:38:25.848	være her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:38:55.210	2synge
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:09:24.240	ehm ## ehm 2spise +r 2spise ...
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:35.920	2sove
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:16:41.831	2sove ja
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:06:58.169	2grave
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:30.255	+x e 2finne gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:13:52.003	2hjelpe ?

## Null subjects in finite clauses

<i>File</i>	<i>(age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:12:41.609	+u de er venner
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:18:32.469	1sitte fast ?
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:28:25.867	leker gravema- ...
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:28:38.323	1henger halen sin
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:26.786	1henger
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:28.284	2henger n
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:40.963	henger n opp
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:50.000	gjemmer seg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:35:31.121	her ## gjemmer seg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:38:25.558	oi slo hodet sitt
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:46:19.355	der 2spiser
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:14:03.605	er kjempestor
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:20:36.868	er skillpadda
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:34:54.687	er sulten
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:37:52.233	er kjempetrøtt
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:37:54.351	har smukk
Kari	(2;02.07)	III	00:42:25.633	er kjempefin
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:23.218	boj +r i- # +r i- # inni huset
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:32.021	boj +r i # i huset
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:40.216	kommej inn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:41.830	1komme inn
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:05:47.312	kjøjej der borte
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:05:50.560	kjøjej der borte
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:15:34.206	kastej
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:02:02.783	1sitte der
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:03:51.702	+u falt ned
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:10:57.481	bor inni +r bro broa
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:13.889	vil ikke mer
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:15.560	vil ikke mer
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:03:00.590	kan kjøre +u helt over veien
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:06:41.222	veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:13:00.526	han ... vet ikke han sier # jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:19:43.267	det er ... veit ikke hva heter
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:30.433	da er blå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:17.770	1sitte
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:06.957	ble ikke lei seg
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:15.781	kan få mat
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:18.659	kan få en mat
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:22.419	må la tå [stå] der +u denne
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:20.870	er bare meg
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:02:59.324	nei er bare traktoren
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:49.077	det 1grave
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:12:27.482	vil reparere

Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:10.522	haj [har] ingen mer
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:14.074	haj [har] +z ingen ikke mer
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:53.235	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:21.885	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:07.362	der 0brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:07.362	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:23.590	oi der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:52.508	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:27.819	+z +u (nei det ring-) der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:32.480	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:56.703	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:16.454	kanskje vikkej [virker]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:23.601	+u der vikkej [virker]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:40.832	er min bil
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:13:38.746	går ikke inn her
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:33.856	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:48.938	hallo der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:25.733	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:56.079	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:24.288	+x dæ 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:02.480	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:22.747	og der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:28.044	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:14.427	der 1brenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:58.183	der 1brenner
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:00.717	+r (er gravemaskin) [§n]
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:08.751	er gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:03:42.249	ja # 1sitte
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:08:48.521	er hest
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:09:40.241	er dyr ?
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:11:52.189	er gravemaskin
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:12:12.442	er traktor
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:14:23.710	er tiit [tigergutt]
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:10:17.536	er morten sin vann
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:09:03.712	åh satte foten
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:13.635	er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:15.063	er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:16.738	er trappa
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:18.257	er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:13:33.002	nå skal kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:39:21.141	klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:40:02.616	der klarte det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:41:10.160	må 2finne
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:47:06.270	ikke må vise §u
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:51:16.818	+x (klalel kke [klarer ikke])
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:15:11.240	heter ... spiser
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:17:11.317	ehm vet ikke inne her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:22:49.133	får ikke opp
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:04:26.459	her inni +t her +u 1sitter inni boka der
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:06:36.526	her 2komme §o
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:09:24.240	her 1komme sänne
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:14:08.222	skal ri på hesten
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:06:18.026	vil lese den
Linnea	(2;09.15)	IV	00:24:33.963	glemte den
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:41:59.024	er det
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:10:45.548	skal sove
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:07.981	kan sove ## der
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:22.281	er dyra

Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:21.572	ee vet ikke
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:17:26.230	bor i raufossen
Emil 2	(2;10.02)	IV	00:15:59.313	nei ## virker ikke
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:11.720	må 2finne noe 2grave med
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:05:57.256	+u skal 2sitte
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:10:57.598	åja hadde tiger
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:14:26.186	+x s 1finne gress
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:24:35.312	er rosa det
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:26:48.297	og må over rumpa
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:28:53.494	det må ta på over beinet
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:29:27.039	må ikke ta av
Ingrid 2	(2;10.08)	IV	00:04:20.140	må kke sprute mer
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:40:18.239	da må gjøre



## Appendix 14 Negations

### Finite verb + negation

<i>File</i>	<i>(Age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:19:13.889	vil ikke mer
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:11:44.979	§n (investigator) må ikke ødelagte bilen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:09:50.416	+z §u §n (Child) var kke langt oppi himmelen
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:12:15.674	jeg tror ikke §n (name1) sin bil
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:01.100	det +x æke [er ikke] tog
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:33.417	+r (jeg ha ikke) jeg har ikke å 2finne noen leke
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:06.957	ble ikke lei seg
Lucas 2	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:50.420	nei jeg veter ikke hvor ikke bestefar
Lucas 2	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:14.074	haj [har] +z ingen ikke mer
Lucas 2	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:40.520	den ## der passej [passer] ikke der
Lucas 2	(2;04.02)	III	00:03:53.649	ja nei vi veter ikke hvor lastebilen +z mi- min
Lucas 2	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:26.134	det er kke inni §u
Lucas 2	(2;04.02)	III	00:13:38.746	går ikke inn her
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:12:34.054	katten vil ikke
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:18:19.451	den vil ikke
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:18:21.821	vil ikke
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:47:06.270	ikke må vise §u
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:51:16.818	+x (klalel kke [klarar ikke])
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:17:11.317	ehm vet ikke inne her
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:22:49.133	får ikke opp
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:00:05.337	jeg hørte ikke om bukkene bruse
Oskar	(2;06.04)	IV	00:00:14.232	der går +u ikke mus
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:12.764	og den får du ikke tak i
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:22.338	den leker ikke sånn
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:11:24.984	den leker ikke sånn
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:12:21.483	jeg vet ikke
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:14:47.137	ja den vil ikke bli ødelagt
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:15:31.030	jeg vet ikke +u hvem han heter
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:05:16.611	jeg veit ikke
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:08:02.615	da kunne jeg ikke ha på # bleiebukse
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:16:31.300	han ## jeg vet ikke hvor han +r han ...
Markus	(2;08.06)	IV	00:16:36.537	han ## jeg vet ikke hvor han gjør
Linnea	(2;08.06)	IV	00:22:28.438	de vil ikke oppi
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:11:39.913	og da kan ikke james være med
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:12:18.592	det er ikk- +t det er ikke §u +t +r han han kan ikke være med han heller
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:14:15.257	det der er ikke en ...
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:16:34.221	han kan ikke sove ute
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:17:32.783	også regner det ikke noe på han
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:18:37.231	så vil han ikke opp der
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:32:39.073	å nei ## +r den +r den den vil ikke opp
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:37:27.736	nei det går ikke an
Magnus 2	(2;09.22)	IV	00:41:11.834	han må kjøre traktoren # +r det +r det det der går ikke an
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:16:08.319	ja jeg vet ikke helt hva jeg gjorde mere
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:17:00.888	+r det det gikk ikke an
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:06:08.857	ee jeg vet ikke
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:08:00.913	jeg vet ikke
Sofie	(2;09.28)	IV	00:11:21.572	ee vet ikke
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:14:53.975	nei han kan kke stå
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:15:09.440	men jeg klarer ikke det.
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:15:46.190	+u men jeg klarer ikke
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:04:07.400	da ble bukkene bruse også litt sint

Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:04:17.715	de er kke venner
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:05:48.204	+v (jeg veit ikke)
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:06:26.456	nei jeg +r veit veit ikke
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:06:49.151	jeg vet ikke
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:12:21.843	nei han må ikke det
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:15:31.709	nei han virker ikke
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:15:59.313	nei ## virker ikke
Emil 2	(2;10;02)	IV	00:16:23.756	vi kan ikke bruke den da
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:05:23.347	dette er kke traktor
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:10:52.627	du har kke bjørn ?
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:11:24.338	her er pusekatten er kke skummel
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:11:36.696	+r (den er) den er ikke glad
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:17:46.729	du må ikke kjøre på han
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:18:39.755	+u vi må ikke kjøre på han
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:23:27.895	vi trenger ikke gaffel
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:23:30.463	nei +z vi du trenger ikke gaffel
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:23:42.281	+r den den det er kke +u (drikken)
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:23:57.735	nei +r (det er ikke) det er ikke din
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:25:01.005	det er kke flere
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:29:27.039	må ikke ta av
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:29:55.647	nå har kke du mere bleier
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:30:11.207	det er kke mere
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:04:13.593	+z (jeg må ikke) +z (jeg må lære) jeg må si og lære mere
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:04:20.140	må kke sprute mer
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:05:30.596	+z (hvis han şu så ikk-) hun fikk ikke mona
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:05:35.765	det satt ikke en sann der så +z ha- +z hu- +u (kan der sann) ikke der
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:05:56.167	du må ikke røre
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:10:51.298	+z (du må ikke julenissen ta) +u og du må ikke julenissen ikke ta den av
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:12:45.827	nei du kan ikke ødelegge den
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:24:43.433	nei det var ikke
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:28:35.902	jeg vil kke sitte her
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:29:06.131	kan ikke du det også ?
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:40:39.866	nei du kan ikke blande
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:09.678	men jeg så ikke det
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:13.803	jeg så ikke # +r ikke det
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:51.660	men den er jo ikke rar
Anne 2	(2;11.17)	IV	00:44:57.287	nei du er ikke rar
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:01:56.031	jeg veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:02:07.534	nei den kan ikke kjøre
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:05:27.291	jeg veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:06:25.160	+z (jeg fikk) nei jeg fikk ikke lov til jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:06:41.222	veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:08.487	jeg ville ikke det # hoppe høyet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:07:17.865	da ville ikke det hoppe høyet
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:10:57.041	jeg vet ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:11:34.901	jeg veit ikke elgen sier
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:12:17.590	jeg veit ikke han sier
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:13:00.526	han ... vet ikke han sier # jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:13:27.531	jeg vet ikke han sier noen lyd
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:18:48.880	den ... jeg veit ikke panseren er der
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:19:43.267	det er ... veit ikke hva heter
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:20:07.577	nei det er ikke flere hunder der
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:01:48.437	jeg veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:08:09.258	jeg veit ikke
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:11:45.138	jeg kan ikke synge jeg
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:16:04.883	jeg kan ikke ta med sykkelen ned
Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:17:36.721	jeg finner ikke mannen

Emil 1	(2;03.29)	III	00:17:43.407	+r (jeg finn-) jeg finner ikke mannen jeg
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### Negation + finite verb

<i>File</i>	<i>(Age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:47:06.270	ikke må vise \$u
Linnea	(2;08.06)	IV	00:27:19.792	ikke den er ingen
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:05:47.812	nei # du ikke rører med den
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:15:16.819	nei ikke hunde 1bise [spise] gress

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### Negation + non-finite verb

<i>File</i>	<i>(Age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:08:24.914	ikke 2drikke vann bebien
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:14:17.279	ikke 2spise meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:26:39.329	ikke 2sitte denne
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:32.065	ikke 2spisa meg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:31:34.758	+z ikke \$n (cat) ikke 2spise meg
Ingrid 2	(2;10;28)	IV	00:21:14.113	jeg ikke 2finne pizzaen

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## Appendix 15 Negation and verb placement in stage III

	Finite verb	Root Infinitive
V+neg	18	0
Neg+V	1	5

## Appendix 16 Non-subject topicalizations in stage III

Emil 1 is excluded. Repetitions are included.

### Finite non-subject topicalizations

<i>File</i>	<i>(age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:29:45.468	så ## kasta §n (cat) å halen
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:35:31.121	her ## gjemmer seg
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:41:09.873	her er pusekatt
Benedikte	(2;01.06)	III	00:46:19.355	der 2spiser
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:10:30.433	da er blå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:52.876	kanskje må §n (child) lese +u for §n (investigator)
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:07.091	her er aent
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:04:49.077	det lgrave
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:53.235	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:23:21.885	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:07.362	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:07.362	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:14.962	§l uæ der det lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:23.590	oi der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:52.508	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:27.819	+z +u (nei det ring-) der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:52.873	der er brenn
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:16.454	kanskje vikkej [virker]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:26:23.601	+u der vikkej [virker]
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:33.856	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:48.938	hallo der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:25.733	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:25:56.079	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:02.480	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:27:28.044	der lbrenner
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:28:14.427	der lbrenner
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:13:49.907	der datt katten ned
Ingrid 1	(2;04.28)	III	00:20:00.079	der er grønn
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:05:48.307	nei katten er det
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:06:43.269	her er rumpa
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:10:05.072	+u nå må kjøre mannen
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:11:10.259	der er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:11:12.063	der er trapp
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:13:33.002	nå skal kjøre
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:15:39.315	der er katten
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:15:40.975	der er katten
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:35:33.133	der er gravemaskin
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:40:02.616	der klarte det

### Non-finite topicalizations

Magnus 1	(2;03.10)	III	00:00:56.390	denne 2lese
Lucas	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:02.882	det jeg gjøre

## Appendix 17 *wh*-questions in stage III

Emil is excluded. Repetitions are included.

<i>File</i>	<i>(age)</i>	<i>Stage</i>		
William	(2;05.22)	III	00:24:48.268	hvor er mere ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:01:38.418	hvor er # her ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:00:32.618	§n (Child) kan gjøre nå ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:05:07.476	§n (Child) kan gjøre nå ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:06:33.262	§n (Child) kan gjøre nå
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:08:25.027	hvor er §u
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:14.037	hva sier toget ?
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:22:54.551	hva sier §n (investigator)
Anne 1	(2;04.02)	III	00:24:54.350	se # hva er §u ?